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133 alkaline plains and approaches the marshy lakes that are abundantly
137 present in the rainy season and frequently absent in the dry period. The acacia and the eucalyptus are familiar and frequent in both the low and the high lands, and spear grass covers the land in dense growths during the months of rain.

136 The animals, with certain minor variations, are the usual marsupials and monotremes found in Australia, with the bat and wild domestic dog the only mammalia living in the region. Nature is bountiful with
[262] many varieties of birds, fish, and other animals; but vegetable foods, although plentiful, are limited in variety.

144 The Murngin people belong to the aboriginal Australoid race found throughout Australia—not Mongoloid, Negroid, or Caucasian, but a variant group which seems to be a blend of many of the features of the
[197] white and black races.[2] Their language is one of the Australo-Dravidian linguistic group. They belong to a Stone Age culture; were they placed
105 in our own chronology, their technological development would fall somewhere between the Old and the New Stone Ages.

The Murngin civilization is a simple Australian culture with a small hunting and gathering population which lives off the sea and the land. The natural environment which surrounds it and drastically affects native behavior consists of *two changes which make up the yearly cycle*; one of these is extremely rainy, producing a period of scarcity, and the other a dry period when there is an abundance of food. The technology can be described briefly as the adaptive mechanisms of the general society to these two parts of the cycle of nature.

● 614 The social organization must be given in a more detailed description.
923 The fundamental basis of the society is an elaborate kinship[3] system in which everyone is related to everyone else. This kinship system is organized into more general units which are patrilineal,[3] exogamic[3] clans[3] which have local territories that were "given to them by the totems."[3] All parts of the clan land have totemic references. Each clan has multiple totems; all clans have at least one, possibly more, sacred water holes where live the high totems, the totemic ancestors, the ancestral dead, and the totemic spirits of the unborn. The names of all clansmen have totemic significance, and the whole general totemic pattern is related to the clan.

[101] [2] See Appendix VII.—The term "Black" in the title of this book, *A Black Civilization*, is *not* to be interpreted as describing these people as purely Negroid. The term refers, rather, to their popular name, "Australian Blacks," and to the name they accept for themselves from the Australian whites, "Blackfellows."

[3] See Glossary of Technical Terms, page 566.

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The clans are of basic importance. They are the largest units of solidarity, and open conflict never occurs within them, as it would not between a man's clan and his wife's and mother's clan. It is through his clan that a man establishes his totemic relations and identifies himself with the sacred world by virtue of a mystical experience of his father. The mother is supposed to be spiritually fertilized by the entrance into her uterus of the infant's soul when it has come from the child's father's totemic well. Many ethnologists have insisted that the Australian aborigines have no knowledge of physiological conception. Although I held this opinion during the first part of my field work, I later came to the conclusion that knowledge of procreation is general to the Murngin but is considered of little importance.[4]

The blood feud is forever present and tends to kill a sufficient number of young men to allow the system of polygyny[5] to function. The Murngin have developed a number of well-constructed types of warfare which form dramatic episodes in the several chains of feuds linking the dead generations of the past to those of the living.

The moiety[5] is a still larger unit than the clan, dividing the sixty-odd clans into two groups which intermarry. By the device of the moiety, the whole of the life of the Murngin, as well as nature, is placed in two opposing groups called Yiritja and Dua.

A final important structure in Murngin society is the age-grading[5] institution. It divides, first, the men from the women (see page 131, Age Grading) on the basis of those who are initiated into the mysteries and those who are not, and then redivides the men on an age-graded scale based primarily on the place a man achieves within the rest of his social organization through *rites de passage*.

Within this social configuration the life of each Murngin male goes through an exact cycle. The first life crisis occurs when the Murngin soul, through the father's mystic experience, leaves the totemic well and enters the womb of the mother. By circumcision around the age of six to eight years the individual passes from the social status of a woman to that of a man. When at about the age of eighteen he achieves parenthood and is shown his totems for the first time, he goes to another, higher status; and to a still higher when, at about thirty-five, he sees the high totems. At death he passes through a very elaborate mortuary rite, returns to his totemic well, and the circle is complete. The personality before birth is purely spiritual; it becomes almost completely profane or unspiritual in the earlier period of its

[4] See pages 23-25.
[5] See Glossary of Technical Terms.

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601 from younger brother in the terminology, there is one extra relative, making a total of seventy-one for each member of the society.

Every individual in Murngin society, looked at from the point of view of the totality of his behavior in the society, expresses all of the kinship relations. At one moment he is behaving as a son to his father, and in the next as a father to his son, or as a son-in-law to his father-in-law, and then reversing this latter relationship with some other person. Because of the classificatory or tribal type of kinship reckoning, each Murngin has every type of relationship expressed by the system.

602 One of the most general statements that can be made about Murngin kinship structure is that the perpendicular or vertical lines in the structure are very strong; they consist primarily of fathers and children. The lateral or horizontal lines are comparatively weak, since they consist primarily of the extension of the kinship structure through marriage. This comparative weakness and strength are an important determinant in the behavior of the Murngin. Various devices are used and customs formed around the feeling of weakness expressed in all the individual's behavior within the laterally extended kinship structure. The most dramatic examples are found in the mirriri and wakinu customs which surround the relation of tabooed brother to sister, and of the maternal grandmother's brother to sister's daughter's son.

617 Although from the simple relations found within the immediate family the Murngin have worked out this very elaborate, extended kinship structure in great detail, they also, in common with many other Australian tribes, have reversed the process and reclassified the relatives into more general kin groupings, termed subsections by the later anthropologists and mistakenly called marriage classes by the earlier. The subsection terminology groups all seventy-one relatives into but eight exogamic units. This simplification aids greatly in determining a man's relationship to people from more distant areas and functions openly during the gatherings of the people for their great rituals when such identifications become necessary.

614 Geographical space is injected formally into the Murngin social system by the territorial extension given the clan. The various areas with their natural phenomena such as pools, rivers, lakes, trees, larger stones, hills, and plains have totemic references associated with the clan. The clans, as has been stated, are regrouped into two exogamic divisions or moieties which by virtue of their classification of the clans

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also have spatial expression. Vaguer local groups, bands, or phratries group together certain clans within one moiety. 614

The tribe is almost a non-existent unit among these people. Its most explicit element is a dialectic unity, but even here the linguistic variation within small local groups is very highly developed. The organized tribe with the use of chiefs does not exist. The tribe is not the war-making group nor does it enforce law. 619 197

It has long been the theory of a great number of anthropological authorities that magic is an individual phenomenon, whereas religion is a social phenomenon. The Durkheim or French school of sociology has been in agreement with this general point of view, although its members differed radically from the American, English, and German schools in their interpretation of religion. Although I am in general agreement with the social interpretation of religion by Durkheim, I cannot follow him or his school in his separation of magic from religion. It is another thesis of this book that magic is also as much a "church" in the Durkheim sense as religion. A test situation is available in this region because, although the peoples of the northern area believe in magic, they have no magicians such as are found in the south. Their substitution of ordinary religious rituals reveals much about the nature of magic. 121

The social mechanisms which are placed in operation within the group by the spread of the knowledge that a black magician has stolen a man's soul, that is, successfully operated on a man, are presented and analyzed in the chapter on magic. When magic is believed to be functioning, all the members of the society act in a manner exactly opposite to the ordinary in their relations with the unfortunate victim. This means that instead of helping to sustain the individual and allowing him to function as a normal person, these protective devices are withdrawn and the attitude is taken that the man is "half dead" and will shortly die. The effect upon the suggestive individual, it is contended in this book, is sufficient to set up certain psycho-physiological reactions which tend to destroy him. When this individual becomes very ill, the movement of social withdrawal from him ceases, and pressure is then applied through mortuary rites which perform the function of attempting to remove him from the society of the living to that of the dead, further destroying his desire to live and frequently bringing about his ultimate death. 761 764

The sacred world of the Murngin is totemically conceived; each individual by virtue of his clan membership possesses and belongs to 771

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throughout the eight tribes. The horde, dealt with in the chapter on technology, and the phratry may or may not be present in a given area. The tribe is of minor importance in native life.

The Clan

The Murngin clan is an exogamic patrilineal group averaging forty or fifty individuals who possess a common territory which averages 360 square miles.[5] This group possesses one or more sacred totemic water holes, formed by a creator totem, in which the whole of the tribal life is focussed; all members of the clan are born from this water hole, and all go back to it at death; in it the totem's spirits live with the mythological ancestor, the souls of the dead, and the unborn children. The male members of the clan who can be the permanent occupants of the group's land possess totemic emblems in common.

A clan frequently has an exclusive name for its people and another preferred one that defines the language spoken by this people as different from that of all other clans. The clan is exogamous by virtue of belonging to a moiety, which prevents marriage within its half of the tribe. Theoretically an individual can marry into any one of the clans in the opposite moiety. The tribal and intertribal myths of the moiety which are saturated with themes expressing the local organization of these people always devote small parts of their stories to the special circumstances of the creation of a clan. They also give its association with the totems and other elements of tribal life considered important by these people. The more localized myths which concern only two or three clans usually symbolize intra-clan solidarity and inter-clan antagonism. The ceremonies possessed by a clan, like the totems, are ordinarily owned by other similar groups belonging to the same moiety, although local variations in totem and ceremony occur.

The following relatives are always found in a clan: marikmo[6] (father's father and father's father's sister), bapa (father), mokul bapa (father's sister), wawa (older brother), yukiyuko (younger brother), yeppa (sister), gatu (son and daughter), and maraitcha (son's son and son's daughter). In other words, these relatives are in ego's brother's

[5] For additional elements in the clan configuration see Part III.

[6] See Chart II, page 59, for the place of kinship terms in the kinship system. Native terms have been used more frequently than the author would have liked, but it was impossible always to give an exact translation in a few words. It seems better to define a word carefully at least once, and thereafter use the term. (See Glossary of Native Terms.)

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lineage, either as consanguine or classificatory kin. Other lines of relatives are sometimes found, but no relative from the opposite moiety ever belongs to ego's clan. The mari and kutara lines are sometimes members of ego's clan (mari, mother's mother, mother's mother's brother; kutara, sister's daughter's daughter, sister's daughter's son).

An important activity of the clan is war, the clan being the war-making group.[7] Within this group no violent conflict ever takes place, no matter how much cause is given. Members may quarrel, but for clansmen to fight one another would be considered an unnatural act in Murngin society and it never occurs. When the clan is at war the ceremonial leader almost always acts as the war leader. A clan seldom goes to battle as a group against another one, but usually has an eternal feud with certain others which results in occasional ambushes in which a man or two is killed.

The demographic aspects of Murngin society are extremely difficult to ascertain, owing to the roving life and impossibility of a head census. Genealogies showed the Kolpa (northern Wessel Island)[8] to be a group of about twenty-five relatives. The clan itself, as well as those who did not belong to it or their (the Yaernungo) tribe, considered this below the normal population level. The Liaalaomir (Glyde River) clan genealogies include around fifty people; the clansmen seem satisfied with their numbers, possessing a sense of well-being as a group not evident among the Kolpa. This was also true of clans like the Liagaomir (the mainland south of Howard Island) and the Daiuror (interior south of Howard Island). The Wangurri (see page 42 for location) have some sixty or seventy members in their clan. The Warumeri, to their north, now have about forty people, since the last generation suffered a severe loss through a disastrous fight with the Wangurri over the right to certain women.

The Yalukal and Barlmawi at the present time have only one male member each. It is highly likely that such clans will disappear, continuance being dependent upon the male line. The land will continue to belong to the dead clan until in several generations the memory of it is lost and new traditions have filled the thought of the natives. The land and water holes will then belong to another group which will have been occupying it since the demise of its former owners. The

[7] The statement that the clan is a war-making group needs further elaboration and amendments which are given in Chapter VI.

[8] See map, page 40, and list of clans, pages 39-51.

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writer recorded statements from some younger men that certain territory belonged to the people now living upon it, while a few old men said this land really belonged to an older group that had died out. Once these old men are dead, it is likely that all memory of the ownership by a former clan will be gone.

Clan territory always has as a central core the land surrounding the water hole. Near the water hole the camps are usually made. Unless a river, lake, or other body of water defines it, no exact boundary exists between two clans. Usually a river or lake is occupied by one clan and the barren plains between form the outer limits for it and its neighbors. When one traverses a dry, unproductive part of the country, those parts of it near billibong (Australian white term: small lake or pool), lily places, and water locations are known to all peoples to belong to a definite clan; but as one moves across the dry plains toward the water hole of another group, there is considerable doubt as to which clan owns the plains area. No native would bother himself about it; it is looked upon as without significance in the lives of the people.

The land along the sea, the bays, inlets and tidal rivers, however, has very definite boundaries, well known to all peoples. Usually myths or folk tales record the facts of territorial ownership in the tribal tradition. The land of the clan is not always contiguous but may be separated by a distance of twenty or thirty miles. The home of a clan, however, is usually one continuous tract. The Gwiyamil, situated in the interior on Buckingham River, possess a small island in Caddell Straits between Elcho and Howard Islands. The island, piled high with boulders and with one wind-blown tree, cannot be more than 200 feet in diameter. Its natural geographic affinities are with Elcho Island, but it is "owned" by this inland clan. The Murngin say that Garrawark, a creator totemic fish, dived underground from the Gwiyamil well in the interior and came up at this island, made it, and called it Gwiyamil country. Garrawark also made other clan countries, but he did not call them Gwiyamil, which exposes the rationalization in this answer. A guess, based on similar types of association among the Murngin, is that some peculiarity in the country and the island associated the two places in their minds. The Milyingi, Djirin, Warumeri, Marungun and other clans all have additional territory away from their clan home and water holes.

No land can be taken from a clan by an act of war. A clan does not possess its land by strength of arms but by immemorial tradition

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and as an integral part of the culture. Murngin myth dies hard, and ownership of land is in Murngin myth even after the final destruction of a particular clan. It would never occur to a victorious group to annex another's territory, even though the entire male population were destroyed and the dead men's women and children taken by the victors. In the passage of time the clan using it would absorb it into their own territory and the myth would unconsciously change to express this. In the thought of the Murngin, land and water, people and clan are an act of the creator totem and the mythological ancestors, who always announce in myth and ceremony that this is the country of such and such a clan; to expropriate this land as a conscious act would be impossible. Just as the totem, the creator, and the members are a permanent and inextricable part of the culture, so is the clan's ownership of the land. This will become clearer when the concepts of birth, death, and totem are associated, and the sacred wells of the clans considered.

The forty or fifty-odd people who belong to a clan do not all live in the land of the clan. All sisters and daughters, since the rule of marriage is patrilocal after the first year or two, go to their husband's clan to live and rear their families. This means that fully half of the members of the clan live after the age of puberty with a group belonging to the opposite moiety. On the other hand, the wives of the clansmen have come from clans of the opposite moiety and make up the difference in population caused by the loss of the group's own females.

Friendly clans always live together during the seasons when food is plentiful in certain area. When the turtles of Buckingham Bay are laying hundreds of eggs nightly along the Djirin coast, the Birkili and Wangurri may be found there. When the cycad palm nuts are ready for picking on Millingimbi Island, the surrounding clans gather for the period of plenty. This is done as a right, no invitation being necessary and no one questioning this right as long as peace reigns. Let there be trouble and cause for a possible killing, and the visitors return to their own land, even though their visit has taken on the nature of a permanent residence.

The most important unifying concept in the whole of clan ideology is that of the sacred water hole in which reposes the spiritual unity of clan life. It is the fundamental symbol of clan solidarity. From it come all the eternal qualities, and to it those qualities return when they have been lived or used by members of the clan. Water, in Murngin thought, is one of the most important symbols of spiritual life.

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778 The sacred ones are used only during the great ceremonies, usually the
103 Narra for the great majority of totems. It is then that all the wells of a moiety and the names of its dead ancestors are called out by the leader.
[562] The camp name is the one known by both men and women. No woman knows the sacred name of a well, or, for that matter, anything else that has to do with the sacred tribal life.

103 The list on page 46 shows that the chief totem of the Liaalaomir
778 clan is a carpet snake. The names of the well are carpet snake's nose
● 614 and menstruation blood, the latter referring indirectly to the actions of the snake.

The Djirin clan has the shark for a totem (see list, page 45), and the following names for its well: shark's head, ripples from a shark's swimming, hill from a tidal wave made by the shark when he created this country.

Although the well names refer to a totem which belongs to the other clans in the moiety, they also refer in particular to geographical aspects of one clan's territory, so that they have local significance. The same is true of the names of the mythological ancestors.

553 A man's name is taken from his male mari (mother's mother's brother) and his male marikmo (father's father). All sacred names are his marikmo's and not his mari's, but a man's camp names come chiefly from his mari; these latter also usually reflect totemic affiliation.

[778 The symbol of the well is also painted on a man after his initiation
302] and when he receives his totemic name in the Narra corroboree, and on a small boy when he is to be circumcised.

601 In addition to the relatives listed on page 16 as always included in
614 the clan, there may be included within the clan: mari, male and female (mother's mother and mother's mother's brother); mokul rumeru (mother's mother's brother's daughter); marelker (mother's mother's brother's son); kutara, male and female (sister's daughter's son and sister's daughter's daughter); gurrong, male and female (father's sister's daughter's son and father's sister's daughter's daughter).

601 These relatives, too, may be blood or tribal in their relationship to
611 ego. Men, for example, may be called brothers by ego and be clan members only remotely related to ego. The usual Murngin method of reckoning kin does not always operate within the clan, for, when there have been wrong marriages,[12] the practice of tracing descent through the mother and ignoring the father does not function. This

[12] See pages 105-106.

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keeps the kinship position of offspring of such a marriage adjusted to the organization of his group. The son of a woman and man who have married wrong and who are not dué (father's sister's son) and galle (mother's brother's daughter) to each other is called gatu by the man and waku by the woman, just as is a son by correct marriage. The sons by another wife of the man would call this child of an improper marriage brother, and the other members of the patrilineal line of the clan would call him by the kinship term they would use if he were the offspring of a proper marriage.[13]

The practice of tracing the descent of relatives within the clan through the father, and outside through the mother, although largely designed to strengthen the clan solidarity and create a sharp line of demarcation between it and other such groups, at times has had the opposite effect.

The Warumeri and Wangurri clans have until recently been bitter rivals for the possession of women of clans in the other moiety. Certain members of the Warumeri clan in the last generation married women who should have become the wives of Wangurri clansmen, since their fathers stood in the relationship of mother's brother to ego.

[13] The relatives from other clans would ignore the relationship of the son to the father in the case of a wrong marriage and call the child the proper term applied to him when tracing his place in the kinship system through the mother. Thus if ego's father married a woman ego called momo (father's mother), ego would call their child brother, for he would trace the relationship through his father, because of the influence of the clan and family; but ego's nati (mother's father), for example, would call the child waku (sister's son), instead of kaninyer (daughter's son, daughter's daughter) as he calls ego.

Nati, being outside the clan, would trace his relationship to the child of the wrong marriage through the mother. The mother in the above example would be nati's sister, so that the child would be sister's son to him. Ego's gawel (mother's brother) would call this child of ego's father by a wrong marriage to ego's momo, dué, instead of the usual waku, since he is father's sister's son if the relationship is traced through the mother.

It can be seen that this process of reckoning relationship through the mother by all outside clans is continually changing the kinship composition of the various clans. New lines of descent are constantly springing out of different clans for those of the kin who are outside its limits. A clan that would for a period have only a mari and marelker and a mari and mokul for the male and female relatives in one's clan other than one's own patrilineal line, could, by a wrong marriage of the male mari—let us say, to a waku—create a gurrong-kutara line of descent for ego on the old mari-marelker clan.

When a clan develops a subclan within it, and this smaller unit is rather strongly organized, there is a possibility of the same process being applied within the clan that ordinarily takes place outside it. When this happens the mari-marelker and gurrong-kutara lines may be found within the clan. This occurs very rarely because these subgroups are unusual within the clan.

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614 628 583 601 The Wangurri organized a raid, killed many of the Warumeri men and took the women for themselves. The children who were born from the Warumeri fathers before the capture of their mothers by the other clan were called gatu by the men who had captured their mothers, and wawa or yukiyuko by these men's sons, who were their progeny through proper marriage. The sons of these women by Wangurri fathers were also called wawa or yukiyuko by the Wangurri sons, not only because the fathers reckoned their relationship through the clan but because the mother too was in the right relationship.

In addition to reckoning kin as above, the Wangurri sons, by tracing the relationship of the Warumeri sons of these women through the mother, would call them brothers, just as the new husbands of these women would apply the term gatu to these children. The same procedure would be true of the Warumeri for the Wangurri offspring. Thus, instead of strengthening the differences between two clans, the tracing of descent through the mother for outside clans has broken down the ordinary clan walls and has done much to hasten the process of consolidation that can be seen taking place at the present time between two clans which possess contiguous territories and hold most of their totems in common. A Wangurri man is now head of both clans.

614 582 Below are listed the clans which usually intermarry. This does not mean that these clans do not also marry into other groups. It is felt, however, according to my informants, that the clans listed in the right-hand column are the ones into which those listed in the left-hand column prefer to marry.

Barlmawi	⟷	Liaalaomir
Birkili	⟷	Perango, Djirin, Gwiyula
Bringel	⟷	Mandelpui, Liaalaomir, Wawilak
Daiuror	⟷	Liagaomir, Naladaer, Djirin, Liaalaomir
Djawark	⟷	Darlwongo
Djirin	⟷	Warumeri, Birkili, Daiuror, Wangurri
Gunalbingu	⟷	Kurkamarnapia
Gwiyamil	⟷	Liagaomir, Liaalaomir
Gwiyula	⟷	Birkili
Karmalanga	⟷	Burera (tribe), Wulkara
Kiki	⟷	Maradunggimi
Kolpa	⟷	Perango, Murru
Komaits	⟷	Riraidjingo
Liagaomir	⟷	Wulkara, Gwiyamil, Daiuror
Lumnami	⟷	Riraidjingo

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Marderpa	⟷	Marungun
Marungun	⟷	Yalukal, Yandjinung (tribe)
Merango	⟷	Darlwongo
Naladaer	⟷	Daiuror
Perango	⟷	Kolpa, Birkili
Wangurri	⟷	Kalpu, Maradunggimi, Djirin, Kapin
Warumeri	⟷	Kalpu
Yalukal	⟷	Marungun

Examining this list of intermarrying clans in connection with the map (page 40), we see that they usually adjoin or are but a short distance apart. When Murngin warfare is discussed later in this chapter, it will be seen that the clans which are in competition for women from another particular clan are usually antagonistic groups and belong to opposing sides in the clan feuds.

A man always calls his own totems bapa (father), marikmo (paternal grandfather), or occasionally old gatu (paternal grandfather's father), according to the relationship term that his father applies to the emblem. If his father calls a totem bapa, ego applies the term marikmo to it; when the father addresses it as older brother, ego calls it bapa. In other words, a man applies the rule of kinship to his relationship with his totem by tracing his relationship to it as though it were an actual relative of his father. Often this nicety is not completely observed, and all the ranga are called by the single term bapa. Ego traces his relationship to totems of another clan through his nearest and most important relative in that clan. He would apply the term mari to a totem if it came from a clan having the mari and marelker line of descent as ego's nearest relatives in it, or he would use the term gawel (mother's brother) or arndi (mother) if the totem came from his mother's group. The members of a clan may all call the same outside clan's totems by different terms, since they may all be in different relationships to the men within these outside groups. The use of this kinship device further articulates ego with the local organization outside his own group, which gives him a greater sense of solidarity.

Sharing of totems occurs largely with clans belonging to the same moiety and will be discussed under the sections on moiety and phratries.

Murngin Moieties

Yiritja and Dua are the intertribal names for the moieties of this North Australian culture. All of the eight tribes considered in this paper, except the Burera, refer to their moieties by these names. The

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Liaalaomir clans, and the Durili and Ding Ding phratries. The last two named are too nebulous in their composition to give their clan membership. Some informants name all the Dua clans as belonging to both, while others place only part of the eastern local units in these groups.

The phratry in Murngin society represents a weak attempt within the culture to create new and larger groups than the clan to control the intra-moiety antagonisms. It is an expression of the moiety weakness in controlling the antagonisms of the clans within it. The rivalry for women, as well as the other competitions, excites emotions too strong to be suppressed by phratry solidarity. It is only in the clan that one finds sufficient pressure placed on the antagonisms to prevent open war.

There is an interesting association between the Warumeri on one side and the Wawilak of the Ritarngo tribe on the other. The two are seventy-five miles apart, a long distance in this culture; yet according to native accounts the black duck totem is supposed to have lived with and performed certain significant acts for each clan in a mythological period, so they are most friendly. Actually, the two do not compete for women, although belonging to the same moiety; but the clans that lie between these two and belong to their moiety do compete, so that the Wawilak and Warumeri have common enemies and like grievances, and possess a convenient myth as a rallying point to express solidarity when associated in warfare against mutual enemies. This association of the two clans, although of considerable importance in their activities, is unnamed and does not class them as a phratry.

The Tribe

The tribes of northeastern Arnhem Land, of which Murngin is one, are very weak social units, and when measured by the ordinary definitions of what constitutes a tribe fail almost completely. The tribe is not the war-making group. On the contrary, it is usually within it that the most intensive feuds are found. Tribal membership of the clans on the borders of two tribes is uncertain and changing, or the people may sometimes insist that they belong to both tribes. Even clans well toward the center of a tribe's territory will, under certain circumstances, range themselves with another group, as will be seen as we examine in the following paragraphs the Murngin tribe.

The name Murngin, as stated, is little used, the principle of dual organization being so strong that the moiety names of a particular

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The Barlamomo occupy a similar position in relation to the Murngin. The Dai and Barlamomo can hardly be ranked as tribes, except that the terms are loosely used by the natives for groups of clans belonging to either moiety; and since they cannot be phratries and belong to both groups of the dual division, and since there is a vague recognition of their distinctiveness in their having names and being considered by the people to the north as each one people, they have been ranked as tribes by the writer, with full recognition that such a designation is too ample and solid a term to describe them.

The Djawark and Darlwongo clans sometimes are included among the Dai; the Marderpa group may be classed as Dai, Murngin, or Ritarngo, according to the feeling of the people within the clan or those without who distinguish them.

Within the region east of the Yandjinung, Burera, Djinba, and Ritarngo tribes, and including the peoples known as Yaernungo, Dai, Barlamomo, and Murngin, there is considerable linguistic homogeneity. All the peoples included in the latter four tribes can understand the various dialectic variations found throughout the area. The greatest divergence in dialect is among the Yaernungo, but the Liaalaomir of the Goyder River on the one hand, and the Wanguri and Warumeri of Arnhem Bay on the other, also present considerable variation in speech. The peoples belonging to the tribes in the area mentioned above cannot understand the languages of the other tribes along their borders unless they have learned them as separate tongues. Linguistic ability is very marked among all these people. It would be difficult to find a Murngin adult who could not speak three or four languages, and frequently men speak seven and eight.

There is greater difference between these northern languages of Australia than there is between French and English. The Burera have the most divergent tongue and are definitely affiliated linguistically with the more western peoples such as the Gun-wing-u and Maung.

As will be seen from the map, the Murngin have many more clans than the other tribes. It cannot be stated as a definite hypothesis, but very likely that the group of the Murngin associated together under the moiety "linguistic" terms as Djambarpingu and Koparpingu are one people and differentiated from the rest of the Murngin. When asked to what people they belong, they always reply Djambarpingu or Koparpingu, according to the moiety. The clans usually classed as belonging to the two groups are:

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101 Djambarpingu (Dua)
174 Liagaomir
Naladaer
614 Djirin
Gwiyula
Djapu
Maradunggimi (sometimes classed with Barlamomo tribe)
Djawark
Koparpingu (Yiritja)
Daiuror
Gwiyamil
Birkili
Burilung (sometimes classed with Barlamomo tribe)

If the above hypothesis is true, this group in an earlier period was confined to the area around Buckingham Bay, Arnhem Bay, Elcho Island, and the English Company Islands. I was unable to find a general name covering both divisions to substantiate this historical contention. The Malay trader undoubtedly widened the horizon of the society by his movements along the coast, and with the introduction of the dugout canoe made possible longer, more rapid journeys and wider contacts among the peoples of the various clans comprising this and the present Murngin group; before this time the only means of travel had been by foot or by the frail bark canoe and rafts. It seems likely to me that the Malay's advent, which occurred at least several hundred years ago, provides sufficient explanation for the breakdown of the earlier tribal grouping—which, if similar to that of present-day tribes was a very weak manifestation at best—and for the formation of a larger Murngin group.

197 Pronunciation varies greatly locally. This linguistic differentiation does not coincide with tribal areas, although there is a tendency for the tribes to be linguistically distinguished. As has been stated, all the clans consider themselves linguistically distinct, and members of the two moieties believe they speak different dialects. This insistence on linguistic difference is so extreme that members of the same clan pronounce their words with a suitable amount of variation. Any attempt to state that this dialect or that method of pronunciation is a standard and exact one is likely to be a projection of our own ethnocentric linguistic values. The western Europeans and the Americans, particularly since the advent of the public school, have made an extreme fetish of standard English and correct pronunciation. There has been, with the general urge, a general standardization of speech. We frequently assume that the primitives always do as we do in their speech habits. This may or may not be true. The Murngin have an extreme

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degree of variation; and as far as I could determine, the chief criteria which tended toward uniformity in the language are a use and a pronunciation of the various words sufficiently varied to identify a person with his own linguistic area, and yet with enough speech uniformity to be understood by the people as a whole.

The Murngin clans are listed below, by tribe. The names of each clan "dialect," of the clan country, and of the high, medium and low (garma) totems were, with few exceptions, collected for all. The "sacred names" of water holes and of rangas (higher totems) are from the Murngin "sacred language," which is fairly extensive, including names for each individual, for all the foods eaten, et cetera. Although I was not always certain of the exact translation of the "sacred words," I did learn the identity of the things to which these words referred. A number of the "sacred words" had a number of references in a specific situation.

MURNGIN CLANS

The Murngin Tribe

1.[160] **WARUMERI**[17] (red cloud) language; PUREL PUREL (red cloud) people, also MANDJIKAI (sand fly) people (phratry).

WATER HOLES: a. *Camp name:*[18] Katingalunga (blow fly); *sacred name:* Urlawarla (Northeast wind place).

b. *Camp name:* Wardawardama (crayfish); *sacred names:* Barndangwawi (black duck stone), Minniminni (black duck stone), Bullomiri (black duck stone).—This is a water hole made by the Ritarngo black duck on Mulleson Island.

c. *Camp name:* Nirdaoko, Niyoryuna (untranslated).—On Tremont Island.

COUNTRY: Djellidjirri (rocks)—country around Cape Wilberforce; Yamunga—Bromby Island; Onburrer (calm sea)—English Company Islands; Nanginbura (tail of whale)—Elcho Island, 1M;[19] Kaiya (anchor rope)—Elcho Island.

[160] Arabic numerals refer to clan numbers on the map.—Since I did not go over the entire territory and since the greater part of this country has never been surveyed, some of the locations on the map may be only approximate.

[17] Starred clan names are the ones used on the map.

[18] Camp names are ordinary names used by both sexes; the sacred names are known only to men.

[19] Certain of the Murngin clans are supposed to have clan lands on Elcho Island within the general Yarrungo area. These are indicated on the map by number and "M" only.

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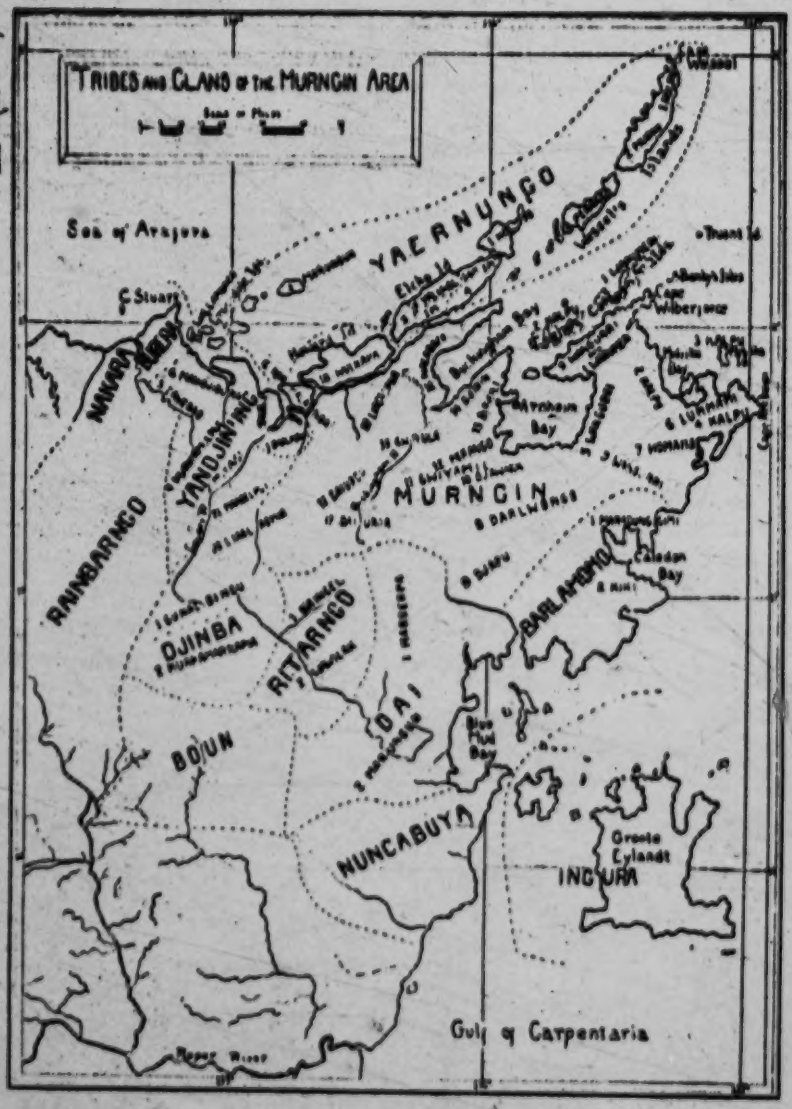

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MOIETY: Yiritja.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: black duck's egg, large basket (warkaitja); low: crayfish, garrawark (mythical son of barrimundi fish), barrimundi, whale, whale rib, dugong rib.

Garma: canoe mast (maraiyer), a red cloud (ripa), a stick (wallo), a line of clouds that indicates the wind will stop (dirmala), bamboo, grave post (urumo), evening star (djirpun), old woman who controls it (Kutjeringo), variety of paper-bark tree (uror), mangrove flower (uetja), silver mangrove (bandjur), fish spear (makur), heron (kormolo), leeches, a swamp, dugong, sting ray, white lily.

2. ŪRORI.URL (buffalo fly) people; *KAI.PU (line of sharp pointed clouds) language.

WATER HOLES: a. *Camp name:* Telipia (stone); *sacred names:* Dumara (when Yurlunggur [carpet snake] fell down), Luwandi (hiss of snake), Napinya (lightning: Yurlunggur's tongue)—western English Company Islands.

b. *Camp name:* Moalangul (spray of waves); *sacred names:* Kurlinyina (Djunkgao sisters stopped there), Warlinyina (sun comes up, reference to actions of the two women), Gurwaurlwa (feathered arm band [of the two sisters])—Melville Bay.

COUNTRY: Buadua (buffalo fly)—western English Company Islands; Karranun (large hooked wooden spear)—Melville Bay.

MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: swamp grass (darango), crab, menstruating young girl (miliyiring); low: plains goana (djinda), yam stick, tail of goana (djinda rapiri), a jungle tree from which spear throwers are sometimes made (tjota), red parrot, young girl (wirkul), mature woman (gungmun), foreskin of a man (tapo).

Garma: sea gull (djerak), wood brought in on the tide (uroko), porpoise (burlainbir), moon fish (millika), a rock (burua), young porpoise (puiapuia), morning star (barnumbir), bamboo spear, stone spear, spear thrower (mangel), variety of the wild bee (yerpain), boomerang (garliarli), white feather string (malka).

3. RIRAIDJINGO (snake's teeth) people; *KAI.PU language.

WATER HOLES: Only Garma wells.

COUNTRY: Tamballia (darkness caused by a heavy rain)—Melville Island.

MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: (Same as #2 for garmas, but no rangas.)

4. KAPIN (a grass used to poison fish) people; MUKKANAIMULMI language (also called *KAI.PU).

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Duringaminga (a swamp grass); *sacred*

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names: Dupera (a red parrot swimming), Dulerpa (white clay [two Djunkgao sisters painted them]), Kawia (two sisters listen to singing stick).—North of Port Bradshaw.

COUNTRY: Moalunggal—north of Port Bradshaw; Rorronga (sting ray)—west of Cape Arnhem.

MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: (Same as #2 and #3.)

5.*WANGURRI (fresh water) language; MANDJIKAI (sand fly) people (phratry).

WATER HOLES: a. *Camp name:* Nutjuruami (stone); *sacred names:* Bolomiri (colored stratified rocks), Yaitpi (rocks), Bangor Bangor (film over an egg), Yurkyurk (duck's waddle).—Mollison Island.

b. *Camp name:* Dalinga (white interior of a cycad palm [Banitja swallowed it]); *sacred names:* Djambarlmurro (stone fire for the palm food), Baiingnarra (Barrimundi split the water hole); Barlwarttji (leaves and sticks carried by the tide).—Southeastern Arnhem Bay.

c. *Camp name:* Tamuitpir (river mouth); *sacred name:* Puimar.

COUNTRY: Mutamil (a fresh water snake)—Mallison Island in Arnhem Bay and on Cape Newbald east of Mallison Island; Dalinga (white interior of cycad palm nut)—southeast Arnhem Bay; Tamuitpir (river mouth)—Mt. Alexander, north of Caledon Bay.

MOIETY: Yiritja.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: Tukaruma (a mythical stone-like creature who is the son of Garrawark), a mangrove log, a man's cough (narljar), white trunked tree (guriri), black duck egg; low: garrawark, banitja (barrimundi), mangrove fish.

Garma: (See Warumeri, #1.)

6.*LUMMAMI language; MALARDORDO (palm tree basket) people.

WATER HOLES: a. *Camp name:* Naindjaka (name of Cape Arnhem); *sacred names:* Yilkaritpi, Cape Arnhem mainland; Daraiinni (Yiritja sting ray).

b. *Camp name:* Utjingduru (whale nose); *sacred name:* Wimmerri (whale).—Small island off Cape Arnhem.

COUNTRY: Uitjingduru.—Cape Arnhem.

MOIETY: Yiritja.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: black duck's egg; large basket (workaitja); low: rib of whale, whale's fin (paddle), garrawark, and banitja.

Garma: (See Warumeri, #1.)

7.*KOMAITS (northeast wind) language; KAINYAO (a jungle fruit) people.

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WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Karkunga (eyes looking at the ground); *sacred names:* Waritpui (tied up [when two sisters tied up paper bark]), Gurwan (big trunk of a paper-bark tree), Buikwan (small pieces of bark that blow away when a large piece of bark is torn off a trunk).

COUNTRY: Karkunga (eyes looking at the ground)—Port Bradshaw, southwest of Cape Arnhem.

MOIETY: Yiritja.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: roots of paper-bark tree (tapamur); low: variety of native bee (yerpain), honey stick (garnin), orchid (djelkork), fresh water turtle, mud when turtle buries himself (minbu), a large-leafed lily (damakarla), anchor, kangaroo tail.

Garma: (See Warumeri, #1.)

8.*DARLWONGO (fresh water) language; NARKALA (barrimundi) people.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Golerttji (stake for fish trap); *sacred names:* Garngarn (caught [a ranga log was caught here in mythological times]), Ilpuru (head of Yiritja wild bee), Tapulmirri (chin of wild bee), Tamakar (leg of wild bee), Bongitja (honey).

COUNTRY: Noru (head or nose)—southeast of Arnhem Bay; Garngarn (high ground around the well).

MOIETY: Yiritja.

TOTEMS: (See Komaits, #7.)

9.*DJAPU people; DJAMBARPINGU (small land bird) language.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Borngorlnna (variety of palm tree); *sacred name:* Turrpuitpi (sting-ray prong).

COUNTRY: Garimarla (hole when the great snake went in)—interior, north of Blue Mud Bay.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: sting-ray prong (damarrarwonga), shark liver (djukur), shark's blood (kaparn), head of shark (liamangiwar), shark's teeth and pandanus leaf-thorns (gurrorro), menstruating girl, woman's mat and apron (ainmara); low: shark (bultmaindji), shark's head dress (warak), white tree found in mangrove jungles (narrao), goona, plains type (djinda), goona tail, mature woman (gungman), yam stick, singing sticks (bilmal), uterus (dulla), small boy (djemerkilli).

Garma: (See Urorlurl, #2.)

10.*DJAWARK (small black clouds) people; DJAMBARPINGU (small bird) language.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Bendringa (native companion); *sacred names:* Tupurla (long forked stick house), Karrimarla (carpet snake's voice).

COUNTRY: Tupurla—south of Arnhem Bay.

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MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: menstruating girl, woman's mat and apron (ainmara); low: mature woman (gungmun), young girl (wirkul), clitoris (marnbu), foreskin, cane (gurlbaurlba), goona (djinda), yam stick (ganinyiri), singing sticks (bilmal), fire (malnumba), tidal float-wood (ondoko), red parrot (gurnboko), grub in lily pond (kamerung), black ant's nest (ringdjari).

Garma: (See Ororlurl, #2.)

11.*GWIYAMIL (fish place) people; KOPARPINGU (back of the neck) language.

WATER HOLES: a. *Camp name:* Milmitkutminga (yellow stone point); *sacred names:* Mantgur (fish scale)—Buckingham River.

b. *Camp name:* Gorlokna (|garrawark's| broken spear); *sacred name:* Peralmina (mangrove fish)—south of Arnhem Bay.

COUNTRY: Mantgur (fish scales)—southwest of Buckingham Bay on Buckingham River; Peralmina (mangrove fish)—south of Arnhem Bay; Elcho Island channel (11M).

MOIETY: Yiritja.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: crayfish, fresh water turtle (tukarura), mangrove log; low: garrawark, barrimundi, mangrove fish, black duck egg, black duck.

Garma: (See Warumeri, #1.)

12.*MERANGO language; DURILI (string bark) people.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Gundaikunga (chips from tree when Wongar Uré looked for honey); *sacred name:* Raimungir (|hear| frilled neck lizard hearing Uré cut the tree).

COUNTRY: Gundaikunga (tree with wild bee hive)—southwestern Arnhem Bay.

MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: black ant's nest, mud hole left by iguana; low: sun (wailir), sharp pointed stick found in wild bee's hive (yungun), honey (melka), black iguana, frilled neck lizard (baltjurda), young girl (wirkul), mature woman (gungmun).

13.*BIRKILI (line of high clouds) people: KOPARPINGU (back of the neck) language.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Yandala (line of clouds); *sacred names:* Luinga (snake's scale), Winbara (lightning [snake's tongue]), Barkurda (snake's skin).

COUNTRY: Yandala (line of clouds)—western Arnhem Bay; Gurama (firelight)—undefined territory on north central Elcho Island.

MOIETY: Yiritja.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: snake (mondukal); low: variety of native bees, orchid (djelkork), honey stick and swat (gurnin), sway-

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grass (wirnikamu), swamp tree from which canoes are made (duwal).

Garma: (See Warumeri, #1.)

14.*DJIRIN people; DJAMBARPINGU (small land bird) language.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Binyunbi (shark tail); *sacred names:* Djawarknga (spear [of man who killed the Wongar shark]), Gurella (ripples from shark swimming), Gaiwarndi (stone hill left by shark's tidal wave [see myth]), Dardanga (shark's head).

COUNTRY: Djawarlkna (man who fights by ambush)—north Arnhem Bay Peninsula; Kuranga (sleep)—northwest Elcho Island (14M).

MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* (See Djapu, #9.)

Garma: (See Urorlurl, #2.)

15.*GWIYULA people; DJAMBARPINGU (small land bird) language.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Marnaitja (small catfish); *sacred name:* Marrapai (Djunkgao's rib).

COUNTRY: Marrapai (woman's rib)—mouth of the Buckingham River.

MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* (See Djawark, #10.)

Garma: (See Urorlurl, #2.)

16.*NALADAER people; DJAMBARPINGU language.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Maderakama (snake's crawl); *sacred name:* Makurda ("lace" spear).

COUNTRY: Maderakama (snake's crawl)—west of Buckingham Bay.

MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* (See Djawark, #10.)

Garma: (See Urorlurl, #2.)

17.*DAIUROR (Manbiri snake) people; KOPARPINGU (back of the neck) language.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Djilliwirri (honeybee's nose); *sacred names:* Burungnaro (honeybee well), Djiringa (honeybee well), Daul narra (honeybee well).

COUNTRY: Djilliwirri (honeybee's nose)—southwest of Buckingham Bay.

MOIETY: Yiritja.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: variety of wild bee (gamo), cough (nalpar), banyan tree (djarnba); low: orchid (djelkork), paper-bark tree (barukala), hive in tree roots (walmunao), tree whose trunk is used for making canoes (duval), stick inside bees' nest (guiparu).

Garma: emu (urparu), the root of a vine (yokowa), a bush

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bird (piapi), opossum fur string (uinbul), small variety of stringy bark tree (garaiyurro).

18.*WULKARA (unclean water) language; MANDJIKAI (sand fly) people.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Marraniyamunguli (cycad palm's leaf); *sacred names:* Mindjiringa (sand fly), gurlmula (armlet).

COUNTRY: Langera (evening star)—Howard Island and part of adjacent mainland; Bardairinga (flat paper-bark country)—mainland southwest of Howard Island.

MOIETY: Yiritja.

TOTEMS: *Runga:* (See Wangurri, #5.)

Garma: (See Warumeri, #1.)

19.*LIAGAOMIR (head in the mud, a reference to a shellfish) language; DING DING (sparks) people; also DJAMBARPINGU language.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Laerttutna (mangrove trees); *sacred names:* Yaoer yaoer (whisper, also name of house), Marnbonga (clitoris).

COUNTRY: South of Howard Island. (See Naladaer, #16, for names.)

MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: *Runga:* (See Djawark, #10.)

Garma: (Do not possess this variety of totem.)

20.*LIAALAOMIR (Top [head] of a long house) language; GARLBANUK (catfish).

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Durdiella (buttocks [place where the Wawilak women sat down]); *sacred names:* Mirrirmina (snake swallows), Ditjerima (menstruation blood). (Another famous well is the Gruana.)

COUNTRY: Mirrirmina—Goyder River.

MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: *Runga:* high: carpet snake's head (pirlinbir), carpet snake's anus (bundji wirtit); low: caterpillar, carpet snake (yurlunggur), carpet snake's neck (wafish), carpet snake's tongue (this is also lightning, mata wirtit), an iguana, green ant (tapalain), singing stick (marliri), a palm tree (gurlwiri), ridgepole of a house (guro guro), house's rafters (milkiri), uprights (dakal dakal), forked stick used for house construction (kanbi kanbi).

Garma: (See Ororlurl, #2.)

21.*MANDELPUI (snake's spittle) language; GARLBANUK people.

WATER HOLE: *Camp names:* Mandelpuingumi (woman's language), Dariel (to raise up [snake]); *sacred name:* Mariu (throat of carpet snake).

COUNTRY: Mandelpuingumi (see language)—Goyder River.

MOIETY: Dua.

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TOTEMS: *Ranga:* (See Liaalaomir, #20.)
Garma: (See Urorlurl, #2.)

Yaernungo (Black Cloud) Tribe

1.*KOLPA (Black cloud) people; YAERNUNGO language.

WATER HOLES: a. *Camp name:* Kataanunga (stone knife); *sacred name:* Puikapaiinni (crayfish).

b. *Camp names:* Maranama (leaves moving [from northeast wind]); Buradawart (whale rib); the two water holes on the north part of Cape Wessel Island.

c. *Camp name:* Yiringa (whale bone); *sacred names:* Bangulna (whale backbone), Yaiyuma (whale blowing)—Drysdale Islands.

COUNTRY: Martjimba (farthest point of land pointing into the ocean)—Cape Wessel; Yiringa (whale bone)—Drysdale Island, north of Elcho Island.

MOIETY: Yiritja.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* (See Wangurri, Murngin #5.)
Garma: (See Warumeri, Murngin #1.)

2.*MURRU people; YAERNUNGO language.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Mundakunga (when Djunkgao sisters sat); *sacred names:* Wangurunga (roar of tide), Djurdupula (sun).

COUNTRY: Mundakunga (buttocks)—southern end of northern Wessel Island.

MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: young girl (wirkul), mature woman (gungmun), woman's mat (ainmara), hawk billed turtle's penis (kurka maipern), lower leg of hawk billed turtle (maipern), snake's head (lia darpa), snake's anus (bundju darpa); low: hawk-billed turtle (maipern), mud fish (karlmata), yam stick (waitjum), red parrot feather belt (yiritpal).

Garma: (See Urorlurl, Murngin #2—only first six.)

3.*MARUNGUN (red ant hill) people; YAERNUNGO language.

WATER HOLE: (No Narra wells, only garma) on Marunga Island; on Rabuma Island (Crocodile group). *Camp name:* Garli guli (penis); *sacred name:* Mangaba (penis).

COUNTRY: Tamballia (dark before a heavy rain)—small island east of north end of Elcho Island; Mia (woman)—southwest Elcho Island; Wallera (paper-bark tree raft)—Marunga Island in Crocodile group.

MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: No *ranga.*

Garma: (See Urorlurl, Murngin #2—only first six.)

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4.*PERANGO (line of clouds) people; YAERNUNGO language.
WATER HOLES: a. *Camp names:* Djirdikaiinga (ceremonial object in Djungguan ceremony), Garuma (snake's hiss); *sacred names:* Guluma (snake's nose), Malpandi (snake's jaw), Daerungar (snake's back), Komurmandait (echoes of snake's roar [thunder]).—South Wessel Island.
b. *Camp name:* Djurdjunga (white paint [used by snake]); *sacred names:* Djuranelpi (bank around the water hole), Burlurlun (sound of spring water flowing).—Eastern Elcho Island.
COUNTRY: Niyakona (swallow)—Wessel Island (south); Djuernelpi (boiling water in a well)—northeastern Elcho Island.
MOIETY: Dua.
TOTEMS: *Ranga:* (See Murru, Yaernungo #2.)
Garma: (See Urorlurl, Murngin #2—only first six.)

5.*YALUKAL people; YAERNUNGO language.
WATER HOLES: (Not collected).
COUNTRY: Kongo (mangrove tree)—central Elcho Island.
MOIETY: Yiritja.
TOTEMS: (See Warumeri, Murngin #1.)

6.*KARMALANGA (banyan tree's fruit) people; YAERNUNGO language.
WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Guruturunga (rotten yam); *sacred name:* Gawurlinga (mud).
COUNTRY: Karlkobiri (honey swab)—Banyan Island at mouth of Goyder River.
MOIETY: Dua.
TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: Miliyirin (menstruation blood), marnbu (clitoris); low: mature woman (gungmun), uncircumcised boy (dapi), parrot feather hair belt (yiritpal), young girl (wirkul), singing sticks (bilmal), jungle tree (murlolo).
Garma: (See Perango, Yaernungo #4.)

Barlamomo Tribe

1.*MARADUNGGIMI people; DJAMBARPINGU language.
WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Kurukaknga (wild bee's head); *sacred names:* Banmala (flight of wild bee), gaiitpi (buzz of a wild bee).
COUNTRY: Bunmala (honeybee flying)—Caledon Bay.
MOIETY: Dua.
TOTEMS: *Ranga:* death adder (maringa or baranana); (see also Djapu, Murngin #9.)
Garma: (See Urorlurl, Murngin #2.)

2.*KIKI or BURILUNG people; KOPARPINGU language.
WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Maiondiji (wrapped anchor rope); *sacred*

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names: Gannal (wrapped anchor rope), murdarkara (tide pulling on anchor rope), nuiyul (anchorage). 614

COUNTRY: Maiondji (wrapped anchor string)—Caledon Bay. 197

MOIETY: Yiritja.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* low: small snake (burulu). 192

Garma: (See Warumeri, Murngin #1.) 103

Dai (Barrimundi) Tribe 616

1.*MARIDERPA (crocodile) people; DAI language.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Kakarwilia (sound of water running); *sacred names:* Dulwarrikari (swamp), burnunburnunmi (swamp grass).

COUNTRY: Dulwarrikari (swamp hole)—interior north and west of Blue Mud Bay.

MOIETY: Yiritja.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: Crocodile (barro), crocodile egg (lainyaer), crocodile's nest (yalo), crocodile intestinal fat (djirimbirlpirl), crocodile head (mirlkor), kangaroo tail, fire (urtja).

Garma: (See Daiuror, Murngin #17.)

2.*MARUNGUN (red ant's nest) people; DAI language.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Mangaia (stench of a dead man); *sacred names:* Nimaindja (knees of women), djumbulwarra (the name of the ceremonial calling out of the sacred names).

COUNTRY: Mangai (stench of a dead man)—Blue Mud Bay.

MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* (See Djapu; Murngin #9: all rangas the same, except Marungun have no shark ranga or any of the shark's body parts for totems).

Garma: (See Urorlurl, Murngin #2.)

Ritarngo Tribe

1.*BRINGEL (spear grass) people; RITARNGO (spear grass) language.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Garlinga (testicle of a Wongar man bitten by a catfish); *sacred name:* Burawarndji (big stone egg left by a wild duck).

COUNTRY: Marda (small trees, any species).

MOIETY: Yiritja.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: Kamur (big stone), kangaroo tail; low: black duck, a flat stone, duck egg, duck's nest.

Garma: (See Warumeri, Murngin #1.)

2.*WAWILAK (two mythical creator sisters) people; RITARNGO language.

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614 WATER HOLES: (Did not record, but notes show references to the two Wawilak sisters).
197 COUNTRY: Djindjikara (deep hole).
192 MOIETY: Dua.
103 TOTEMS: *Ranga:* (See Liaalaomir, Murngin #20.)
616 *Garma:* (See Urorlurl, Murngin #2.)

Djinba (Swamp) Tribe

1.*GUNABLINGU (black goose) language; GURUMBA (black goose) people.
WATER HOLES: (Did not collect.)
COUNTRY: Burawarndji (white stone)—Goyder River.
MOIETY: Yiritja.
TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: split stones when fresh water spring flows; low: swamp snake. (They have others which were not recorded.)
Garma: goose (guamurtji), goslings (birwit), red water lily, goose egg, goose nest.

2.*KURKAMARNAPIA (flying fox's penis) people; DJINBA language.
WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Gurwa gurwa (jungle of bamboo); *sacred name:* Guruwillin (variety of palm).
COUNTRY: Mirnaitja (high hill); golambait (honeybee excrement)—upper Goyder River.
MOIETY: Dua.
TOTEMS: *Ranga:* (See Liaalamoir, Murngin #20.)
Garma: (See Warumeri, Murngin #1.)

Yandjinung Tribe

1.*BARLMAWI people; YANDJINUNG language.
WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Urelnga (spirit of a snake); *sacred name:* Birimbirda (a snake's spirit).
COUNTRY: Urelnga (spirit of snake).
MOIETY: Yiritja.
TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: munbi (mud hole of a turtle), female fresh-water turtle (minala), crayfish (takaowa); low: grebe (djarng djarng), grass under fresh water (norit), fresh water turtle, small snake (munbi), large leafed water lily (djermunda).
Garma: (See Daiuror, Murngin #17.)

2.*MILYINGI people; YANDJINUNG language.
COUNTRY: Goyder River.
MOIETY: Yiritja.
TOTEMS: *Ranga:* several varieties of unidentified fish and birds.
Garma: (See Daiuror, Murngin #17.)

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3. URKIGAINDJER (stringy bark flower) people; YANDJINUNG language.
   COUNTRY: Djimbi (vagina)—south of Cape Stewart, but not specifically located by the author.
   MOIETY: Dua.
   TOTEMS: *Ranga:* gaimbu (fish net), gurdamurko (catfish), wanduma (mud fish), baltjurda (frilled neck lizard), yungun (sharp stick found in bee hive), wirkul (young girl), gungmun (mature woman), baidjo (yam stick).
   Garma: (See Urorlurl, Murngin #2.)
4. •KURKAMULMUL people; YANDJINUNG language.
   COUNTRY: Inland southeast of Cape Stewart.
   MOIETY: Dua.
   TOTEMS: *Ranga:* singing stick (bilmal), young woman (wirkul), mature woman (gungmun), iguana; others unrecorded.
   Garma: (See Urorlurl, Murngin #2.)
5. DAWERAO
6. MANIDJIBUNG
7. •NARNARO

Burera Tribe

1. •WALLAMUNGO people; BURERA language.
   COUNTRY: Part of Millingimbi Island, Crocodile group.
   MOIETY: Yiritja.
   TOTEMS: *Ranga:* (See Wangurri, Murngin #5.)
   Garma: (See Warumeri, Murngin #1.)

There are other Burera clans which were not recorded.

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as his father's; for a father to be Yiritja and the son Dua would be impossible. No man has ever dreamed such an unorthodox concept—either because the moiety idea is such a complete part of Murngin thought that their dreams conform to it, or the men who have such dreams place no importance upon them and forget or suppress them. At all events, a child, male or female, ordinarily inherits only its father's clan and totems, and occasionally inherits in addition totems of another clan. Further, the dream clearly demonstrates a sociological connection between father and child even before birth. The author has recorded no birth without the dream.

Sometimes a man steals another's wife while she is pregnant. The child when born is considered a member of the new man's clan; when he becomes older he usually returns to his own father's clan and identifies himself with it, although he may have strong attachments to his second father's group.

All this indicates that patrilineal inheritance is from the actual father and his group, and not from a different clan, though of the same moiety; it also shows the importance of the actual father in Murngin thought.

Several informants volunteered that a man must abstain from the tabooed foods until he has had a child, because the release from the taboo made him quiet and settled so he would stop running after other women and would stay in one place to take care of his wives, children, and parents-in-law. The social implications of this are very important. By becoming a father he has finally become a husband; he has extended his patrilineal line descendingly and thereby strengthened his own family; and, third, he has, also through this child, strengthened his relationship to his wife's brother, to gawel (father-in-law), mokul (mother-in-law), and marelker (mother-in-law's brother). For, instead of only one direct reciprocal relation, he now has an additional indirect reciprocation with each. His son (or daughter) calls his wife's brothers "gawel" and has a strong bond of mutual aid and obligation with them. His son calls ego's mother-in-law "mari" and has a strong untabooed attachment to her; and to marelker the son also has a strong emotional relationship because ego's marelker is mari to the son. The creation of these social personalities shows the enormous addition to one's kinship personality through the birth of a son, who strengthens ego's position, adding to his security within the clan, the tribe, and with other tribes.

On the other hand, the birth of a daughter is of equal importance.

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It gives the father added bonds with waku (his sister's son) because the latter becomes husband to the daughter; it strengthens his position with daughter's son, who is WAKU to ego's son. A man prefers a son, however, because of his value in the constant tribal feuds, not only through his own assistance and the aid he brings to his relations (as, of course, the daughter does through her marriage), but also because almost the entire ceremonial life of the father's clan and tribe is centered around the males. A son inherits the right to perform certain dances through his father and never through his mother. By a son's initiation into the various ceremonies the father's social participation is further increased as it would not be if the child were a daughter.*

Each clan has ceremonial leaders for one or all of the ceremonies it owns. The leadership is inherited by the oldest son if he is old enough. If not, the deceased father's next oldest brother inherits the right until the son is old enough; or at the death or senility of the second brother the son becomes leader. The course taken depends largely upon the personalities of the two men, but in all events the son is looked upon as the heir to these rights. Such ceremonial leadership makes of a person a kind of clan headman.

When a boy is to be circumcised (at from six to nine years of age), it is the father who decides the type of initiation ceremony. The other old men of the tribe confer with him as to time, place, and other arrangements. The father and the mother make presents to the man who paints the child's body in preparation for the initiation. The father is one of those who teach his son how to hunt, fight, and conduct himself in the best possible way in the practical affairs of life. If the father is a ceremonial leader he instructs his son in the routine of songs, dances, and words that make up the great ceremonies.

Before the actual circumcision the neophyte is sent on a journey through the country of the various clans to inform the people of the coming ceremony and to collect presents. The father may refuse to send his son if he wishes; or, if he wants the boy to go, he may order him to leave and to take a certain route. No one else could do this.

A father never corrects his children. This is left to other kin (see mari, nati, et cetera).

Fathers and sons often cooperate in making a canoe. A son must always acquiesce in a father's request for the use of a canoe, or of any of the son's property. A father occupies a place much like an older

*For a full account of the individual's change of status, see Chapter IV, Age Grading.

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582 601 mokul and the mokul is ego's mother's mother's blood-brother's daughter, he looks to this mokul to give him a daughter for his wife. Any offspring from the union would be called galle by ego.

This simple arrangement always keeps the kinship system functioning smoothly. The odd arrangement of the relatives created within the local clan has already been discussed in Chapter II.

614 602 A child inherits its totem from its father. When the totemic emblem is shown to the boy for the first time the father or clan leader says, "This is your father," or "your grandfather." The boy will always call it by one of these terms. Most men call their totem "father." Their mother's totem is called arndi or gawel, and the totems of other clans are traced by the nearest relative in these clans. If this relative is marelker, for instance, and he calls the totem father, ego would use the term mari for it. Since most of the mythology is connected with the totems and ceremonies, kinship permeates the whole of Murngin culture. Its relationship to the mythological system will be considered later.

Principles of Murngin Kinship Structure

611 The two main elements in Murngin kinship are the patrilineal lines and their lateral connections through the intermarriage of the five generations of the seven lines of descent.

Perpendicular Relationships

601 611 614 All perpendicular relationships are *strong* and *unbreakable* since they are patrilineal lines of fathers, sons, daughters, brothers, and sisters, belonging to the same totemic clans and interlocking families. Distant *tribal* relatives called father, son, et cetera, are not under consideration. Clan solidarity and family cohesion prevent strife among the relatives who fit into the perpendicular relationship. If ego, for our purposes, is shifted one line to the right, he takes galle's place, and gawel becomes his father; or if he is shifted to the left to dumungur, this again is a father and son line of descent. Each of the seven lines of descent is built out of the restricted family, which preserves its continuity by the patrilineal laws that regulate descent from fathers to sons. The mother, although still considered a member of her father's clan, is through her children firmly bound to *their* clan. To be fully understood, her position must also be considered from the point of view of sister—she must be seen as a sister to her brother no less than as ego's mother.

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593 examine the Murngin kinship behavior centered around sisters and daughters.

[584] Fathers and brothers treat a daughter and sister alike in that (1) they decide to which of her dués she will belong; (2) they stand responsible for her loss by runaway marriage, et cetera; (3) they beat her for misconduct; (4) they supply another daughter and sister to her dué if she dies or is sterile; and (5) they come to her assistance if she is excessively mistreated by dué.

The above largely summarizes a father's behavior toward a daughter, but gives only a part of a brother's relationship with his sister.

Except for the fifth case, the father and brother, so far as they obey tribal law, do all they can to force the daughter and sister into a permanent marriage and to censor the dué-galle relationship. The necessity of keeping a woman with her husband to protect the kinship structure of Murngin society is thus clearly felt by all people, including the members of her own family and clan, whose structures have been damaged by her going to a new family and clan.

593 628 614 The fifth element of behavior indicates a possibility of strife. No brother or father would interfere with a husband chastising his wife; indeed, they would help him. But if the wife were being brutally treated, or were killed for no just cause, they would interfere, which would usually mean a fight. Such an assumption of responsibility for the sister's and daughter's rights shows that she is still considered a part of her kinsmen's clan and family. It is only under the most extreme provocation that members of a woman's clan would act; no instance was recorded by the author. In case of a husband's brutality, his own clansmen apply pressure to prevent trouble with her clan, and also because of a feeling that such conduct is wrong.

593 614 682 If a brother killed his sister, no direct action would be taken by the clan, clan solidarity preventing it. This contrasts with the feeling of her own clan if her husband should kill her. It demonstrates that fundamentally she is considered as belonging to her own group, not to her husband's, even after she has been taken by the latter's clan.

593 Yet a brother calls his sister "wakinu," i.e., without relatives; and if her husband or anyone else swears at her in her brother's presence the latter throws spears at her and at all his other sisters, even though they are not involved in the quarrel. This behavior seemingly contradicts the above statement. There are several possible explanations. It might be said that he throws spears at her because he believes the swearing to be due to some fault of hers. A brief investigation proves

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283 of the red-breasted parrot can be used for certain totemic emblems.
237 To collect a sufficient supply of red feathers to put on such totems as
431 their fire, woman and other Dua moiety totemic emblems demands considerable industry not only on the part of the totem makers in their daily hunting and robbings of birds' nests but also in gift exchanges. This means that red ocher and other body paints, spear heads from the interior, carved wooden spears from the coastal belt, and other objects of economic value must be had to trade. Small white feathers from hawks' breasts and from the sulphur-crested cockatoo and the blue-eyed corella are also used for the string of many totems. The larger feathers of the cockatoos and the yellow crest of the sulphur-crested cockatoo are used for the great ritual headdresses made by the [314] men with the aid of adhesive gathered from the ironwood tree and the honeybee's hive. Ironwood resin makes a very hard, durable cement and is used for many purposes for which the beeswax is too malleable. [237] Ordinarily the beeswax is preferred for the molding of head pieces because the proper shapes can be more easily obtained.

431 Obviously the extension of the kinship personality of a man by the exchange of gifts between far-off relatives or the strengthening of the 602 bonds between near kin such as mari and kutara definitely stimulates economic enterprise. More labor is necessary than if these mechanisms were not present. The goods themselves take on higher value from [178] their use in the totemic ceremonies; the totemic strings absorb some of the clan ceremonial power and, once used, are taboo to the uninitiated. They are of course valuable in another ritual since they will be used by the receiver for his own totemic emblem and then be passed on to other reciprocating relatives.

4. *Property*

423 Relating Murngin technological articles to human beings by the concept of ownership is one of the methods of controlling and regulating this society's adaptation to the natural environment, since it incorporates the various articles of technology into the general social order. The Murngin concepts of property are developed into a variety of forms according to the type of thing owned. Land is divided among [614] the clans; and definite areas and their natural objects such as trees, water holes, and the like are considered as belonging to these exogamic units. Derivatively the moieties are also supposed to have an "owning" 423 relationship to the land areas of the country. This means that not only 616 are spatial divisions organized by the separation of all things on the

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basis of their inherent nature of being Dua or Yiritja, but that the moiety grouping of things takes on spatial definitions and specific location. The importance of the intertwining of these two concepts can be seen in the larger myths such as Wawilak, Djunkgao, Barnumbir, which reflect their division of the things of nature and culture into two moiety categories and group the objects of nature accordingly because they are the property of the clans. The clans are thought of as owning their totems and the right to certain minute variations of the ritual. The ownership of the land includes the use of it, but there would be no thought of excluding the members of other clans from using it; rather, mutual use would be encouraged if the two groups were friendly.

The objects of the technology are personally owned, but a number of brothers and fathers and sons who have cooperated in an enterprise such as boat building have a feeling of collective ownership (see pages 63, 70).

The concept of incorporeal property is not very highly developed. A man's name is his own, but other members of his clan could possess it if their parents or grandparents who named them had wished it so. There are no songs or painting designs, curing or killing magics, which are considered, as elsewhere, the property of any one individual or group. Certain totemic designs are associated with clans or moieties, and it would be impossible for members of the other clans or moiety to use these designs or emblems unless given permission under special circumstances; but these as well as totems and rituals are not so much properties in an economic sense as integral parts of the structure of the clan. To a great degree this is also true of the land. To remove these incorporeal elements from the clan and moiety structures would cause a complete reorganization of those structures, and only in a most secondary and derivative sense can they be thought of as in an economic category; yet the effect of their being part of the clan and moiety configuration has many of the attributes of our concept of property.

The Murngins' undeveloped sense of property seems to be associated with their lack of interest in developing their technological equipment, and both of these social elements seem to root in the desire to be free from the burdens and responsibilities of objects which would interfere with the society's itinerant existence. The equivalents of incorporeal property in other tribes are here felt to be part of the clan or moiety, i.e., not objects for the exclusive use of any one individual group to dispose of as it saw fit. The medicine man's magical ritual

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While he was high in the sky and had the two women and children inside him he sang all the Maradiella, Djungguan, Gunabibi and Ulmark ceremonies.

7. The Dua clan snakes and Yurlunggur discuss what they have eaten and discover they have different languages but the same totemic emblems. They tell their language names, the names of their totemic water holes, and recite the list of their totems, and kinship is established.

The other Wongar Wirtits (totemic pythons) stood up too. They were all Dua, as Yurlunggur was, and none was Yiritja. Yurlunggur was higher than all the rest. He was the leader for those other snakes, and was more powerful than they.[7]

The Wessel Island python (Perango clan) raised himself. "What is your language?" he said.

"I am Liaalaomir. What is yours?"

"I am Perango Yaernungo."

"What is yours?" Yurlunggur then said to the python on the Howard Island mainland.

"I am Liagaomir."

"What is yours?" he asked the Banyan Island python.

"I am Karmalanga language. My country is Kolpalyunala" [a tree from whose roots fiber string is made].

The Mandelpui, Wawilak, Boun, Djirin, Kalpu, Merango, Djapu, Djawark, and all Dua clans were asked by Yurlunggur what their language was, and each answered the language of his country (see pages 39 to 51).

The Mirrirmina snake said then, "I see we all talk different languages. It would be better if we talked the same tongue. We can't help this now. It is better then that we all have our ceremonies together, for we own the same maraiin" [totemic emblems]."

They all sang out together then, and their voices were the thunder and roared all over the land and sea.

The python Wongars still stood on their tails high in the sky. The great Yurlunggur turned to a Dali Dua snake. He said, "What have you been eating?"

"I have been eating fresh-water fish" (Dua variety).

"How did he taste?"

"Oh, he was very good. Nice and fat."

"What are you going to do, now that you have eaten him?"

[7] There is no doubt that all peoples in the area recognize the leadership of the Liaalaomir python. He is the highest in the sky and the deepest in the well. His clan leaders always lead the Djungguan ceremony when they are present, even if the other clan leaders who ordinarily lead this performance are present.

[8] See glossary of Native Terms.

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"Run and get some paper bark and make a basket," said the older Wawilak man. 773

They gathered two baskets of blood, and went to the dance grounds. They made a bush house on part of the ground that represents the snake's tail.

"You take all the hawk's feathers, bush cotton, and this blood, and we'll paint ourselves. You do this, and I shall go cut a hollow log and make a Yurlunggur trumpet."

Each did his task. The hollow ridgepole from the Wawilak sisters' house was used for the trumpet totemic emblem of Yurlunggur.

The sun went down. They left the blood till morning. They slept, and while they were in a deep sleep they dreamed of what the two women sang and danced when they were trying to keep Yurlunggur from swallowing them. The Wawilak women came back as spirits and taught the two men the Djungguan songs and dances that are for the outside general camp, and the inside ones that are for the men's camp. They told the men the way to do the Marndiella, Gunabibi and Ulmark ceremonies. They sang Yurlunggur and Muit. The men slept on and dreamed that Yurlunggur brought out all the iguanas from the Mirrirmina well. (See Djungguan ritual, pages 283 to 284.)

The two sisters said to men, "This is all now. We are giving you this dream so you can remember these important things. You must never forget these things we have told you tonight. You must remember every time each year these songs and dances. You must paint with blood and feathers for Marndiella, Gunabibi and Djungguan. You must dance all the things we saw and named on our journey, and which ran away into the well."

After the men danced the new dances and ceremonies for the first time they went back to their own country. "We dance these things now, because our Wongar ancestors learned them from the two Wawilak sisters."

THE DJUNGGUAN CEREMONY

The great ceremonies all take place in the dry season, and always on the men's ceremonial grounds. Actual participation is only by initiated men, although the women, not allowed in the ceremonial grounds and not thought of by the men as in the ceremony, play an important rôle. 796

All the ceremonies are associated with age grading, as being participated in by men initiated into certain age grades, or serving to initiate a man into a higher status; and all are associated with moiety or clan totems. [561 614 616]

All the rituals have ceremonial leaders. The participants paint themselves with sacred totemic designs and usually employ feather orna- 796 302

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and makes a bull roarer (mandelprindi). The bull roarer is attached to a human hair cord on a small stick before it is ready for whirling. It is covered with human blood or red ocher and a snake design is painted on it. The Gunabibi song sequence is usually sung over it[10] to make it "strong," and often the painting is outlined with birds' down. The feathers are removed when it is whirled because they prevent the friction of wood and air which makes the characteristic booming sound. The mandelprindi is then wrapped in bark and hidden in a hollow tree or elsewhere within the men's ceremonial grounds.

2. The old men of the Liaalaomir clan and the leaders of the nearby local groups confer and decide which boys are to be initiated into the Gunabibi mysteries. Since all young men are in time inducted into the Gunabibi ritual, the only question to be decided is whether the boy is old enough. The leaders of the other clans must give their consent if they are present at the conference for the boy's initiation.

Native Interpretation.—There is little to comment upon in this first section of the Gunabibi except that all the natives say that the bull roarer is the snake itself and the initiates "are just the same as those in the Djungguan."

B. The First Ceremony in the Woman's Camp

1. The different clan garma songs are sung and the groups form into one.
2. Mandelprindi is whirled and the camp women and men answer its sound.
3. The initiates are taken by the two Yiritja snakes to the totemic grounds.

1. That evening, or a few evenings later, according to the whim of the leaders, the actual Gunabibi ceremony starts. The leader sends word throughout the camp where a large number of people from the nearby friendly clans are collected, and all the men, women and children gather in the main part of the camp. Each clan group sings the garma song (general camp's less sacred totemic song), that is recognized by all as belonging to that particular clan. The Djirin clan sings and dances Djirin garma songs, and the Warumeri sing and dance their garma songs.

When this is completed the members of the various clans (men, women and children) at the order of the leader all form one large

[10] See pages 294-295.

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the stone fire, and the women around them. Ironwood leaves (maipin) are put in the fire and a smoking branch is brushed over all the males and females who have been in the ceremony. To make a heavy steam, wet grass is put on the fire and the neophytes placed over it so that both mouth and anus are supposedly filled with purifying steam. This is to allow the young men to eat the large game which up to this time has been taboo to them.

Native Interpretation.—All the informants insisted that the interpretation of the steaming of the initiates is the same as in the Djunggwan (Section H). The eating of the bread is a general symbol of communion which will be treated later.

General Summary of the Sections of the Ulmark

The ritual dances of the Ulmark ceremony divide themselves into two main groups of symbols: (1) the food animals' running away from the two women, and (2) the snake's swallowing the women and animals.

THE MARNDIELLA CEREMONY

A. Preparations

1. The fathers are consulted. The boys are decorated.

1. The Marndiella is used as a circumcision rite and belongs to the Wawilak group. It is usually held when it is felt that certain boys are too large to be allowed to remain uncircumcised for another year and when the time is short and the wet season is at hand. In other words, it is used when the Djunggwan ceremony is considered too long for the time at their command. It is the shortest of the four general tribal ceremonies centered around the Wawilak. The Marndiella never comes first by preference and is only used as an expedient. However, at times the Marndiella is prolonged, principally because of the Murngin's keen pleasure in all ceremonies and because it is felt to be not quite fitting to rush a ceremony through in so short a time.

The ceremony starts the afternoon before the circumcision is to take place. The leader in this ritual, as in all the others, is a clan ceremonial director. He confers with the fathers of the boys to gain their permission, or to set a time for the circumcision when the fathers have requested him to make their boys young men. On the afternoon of the day chosen to start the ceremony the boys are taken to the

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of the Murngin is highly elaborated and permeates all the activities of the group and all of its concepts of life in the world about it; but despite this proliferation of detail of totemic ideas, none of the informal structures have totemic elements as definite parts of their organization, whereas all the formal ones have them. The clan has multiple totems attached to it by authority of the various myths, and the moiety is given these same totems generally by the whole myth. For example, all Dua clans theoretically have the Wawilak totems or the Djunkgao totems according to the area in which the moiety is located. The subsections have definite totems given them, although they are of little importance to the Murngin.

The Murngin clan is a social category which gives spatial form to the kinship system. The ordinary kinship reciprocals can exist anywhere, since a man's father or mari could be almost anywhere in the area, and as a kinship term *mari* is not thought of spatially and in a definite locality, although one's actual father is of course identified with one's own clan. With the introduction of the clan system into the larger social order by the selection of certain lines of relatives out of the total group and the rejection of others through the use of the patrilineal unilateral principle, certain people are given a single unity with respect to the rest of the kin community and are at the same time related to a given area of land. By the inclusion of certain people and the exclusion of others from the kinship pattern, one of the chief functions of the kinship reciprocals is expressed, because the principles which exclude most of the people from one clan include these people in other clan groups and thereby create a clan system integrated into the structure of the larger kinship system. All of the people and all of the clans are related by kinship ties. The kinship system functions as an "international" social system by means of the allocation of the clans to one of two groups. This interclan organization is more simply formed than the kinship structure, and from the point of view of the moiety the segmentation into clans gives greater precision and stronger local solidarities for the people within either half of the tribe. The moiety has spatial significance only indirectly and in a derivative sense: the total territory of the clans of one moiety is its only claim to spatial character.

The Wawilak and Djunkgao myths emphasize the spatial characteristic of the clan by naming its various locations and clan wells, and by relating the wanderings of the two women through the various clan territories; further, the women's travels locate and relate the clans

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
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in the general topography of northeastern Arnhem Land. The clan structure is not a mere exogamic group which occupies a certain extended territory and whose people earn their living from this area. In the first place, all its female members are usually not attached to the land itself, for after reaching early adolescence they go as wives and potential mothers to other clans than their own; the wives and mothers of the local clan come from other areas and are therefore not thought of as belonging to this particular piece of land. Spatial unity is disrupted and the Murngin clan is seen to be an entirely different social entity from our modern state. Further, the economic unit of this people is not the clan but the horde. 773 614

The horde's membership is composed of men from a number of clans as well as of women from different groups. The clan composition of a horde becomes more heterogeneous during the dry season when an area can support a larger number of people, than in the rainy season when food is scarce. The male membership of the clan is seldom spatially intact except during the ritual season when all of the male members are more likely to be present than in the rainy period. The clan's so-called "ownership" of the land has little of the economic about it. Friendly peoples wander over the food areas of others and, if their area happens to be poor in food production, possibly spend more of their lives on the territory of other clans than on their own. Exclusive use of the group's territory by the group is not a part of the Murngin idea of land "ownership." The ownership of the land is more in the "nature of things," as seen by the Murngin. The land is not outside the clan but is an integral part of it. As has been said, it cannot be taken from the clan, for it is of the clan and made such by the order of existence. "Wongar made it that way and that's why we have these things today." 621 614 423

Politically the clan is almost impotent when it comes to positive action. It is impossible to obtain group action, even for the wergild, which will function to the extent that discipline can be enforced and individual action prohibited in a blood feud. The ceremonial leader is considered head man, and if physically able and of sufficient talent, he is also war leader, but his power is at an absolute minimum except as a ritual leader; it is in the field of ritual and not of government that he exercises his leadership. 614 622

The names of the country, the names of the wells, and the list of totems as well as the names of the mythological ancestors all form fundamental parts of the clan unity. All of the names of the clan 103 614 773 182 778

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103 wells, both the sacred and the camp names, refer to the totemic objects
614 either directly or indirectly and usually describe some aspect of the
clan's country or rationalize its relation to the totem. The totemic
773 mythological ancestors generally have the same names as the well.
182 All of these elements are unified by one or more myths. These
778 myths in turn are dramatized by the various rituals enacted by the clanspeople so that when a man is asked what totems a particular clan possesses, he ordinarily thinks of the rituals they use and the myths the rituals portray.

The names of the clan wells either elaborate the detail of the myth as it is expressed by the totem or they give distinct additions which relate other totemic myths to the well. In no case does the name of a well have no relation to the totems of the clan.

The clansmen are identified with the totemic well by the fact that
614 they come from it and are allowed to be born by the action of the
778 totemic spirit that resides within the well; they are identified with the
182 well because at death they will go back to it and because all of their kin who have died and those living, with whom they have had all of their social relations, are or will be either in this well into which their own soul returns or in other like clan wells; and finally, their well-being and that of their fellow clansmen and of other clans are dependent upon the proper enactment of the seasonal rituals which demonstrate the mana or power of the totem. At death not only does the soul go into the well but it also enters into the totemic emblem itself and becomes a part of it.

551 The names of the living are all taken from some part of the totemic
182 complex and refer directly or indirectly to the totem. One exception to this is the new group of Malay terms which, however, have been
771 sacralized by the real ancestors' possessing them, and which, after a period of taboo and when the ancestors are within the totemic water hole, are passed on to the living. Another exception to the rule is the group of nicknames, which are also inheritable by the living from the dead. The spiritual life of a Murngin, then, is entirely made up
771 from totemic elements, and his whole participation within that part
182 of the community which makes him a social man and separates him from the adolescent children and women is within the totemic complex itself. (This of course is a fundamental aspect of age grading and is treated under that head.) As a male social personality, a man is part of the totem, and in all his social relations with the male part

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the simple profane animal level and allows him to participate fully in the sacred eternal values of the civilization that was, is, and will be. It finally and eternally ties the man whose heart it occupies to his totem, the symbol of all clan unity in Murngin culture, since the soul at death is one of the prominent elements in the configuration of associated items found in the clan's totemic water, the water which is the essence of life. Here live the great totemic ancestors who existed in the time of the Wawilak creator sisters when the Wongar totems walked the earth, and whose sacred names are used by the profane living only when these living have been purified by the great rituals, when they are part of the sacred and eternal elements in the culture, when man and his totems participate as one in the totemic rituals. Here, too, in the well, lie the totemic ancestors who died at the beginning of time, and the more recently dead whose emotional bonds with the living are still strong. The more recent ancestors who ave gone through the long purifying mortuary ritual which removed all the profane elements of the personality (whose mokoi spirit has gone into the bush with his other evil comrades) are, in their nature, of such sacredness that they can be absorbed into the body of the totem itself. And when the totemic essence of the totem animals is induced into the emblem, they also enter and participate in the spiritual life of the Murngin during the great rituals and then return to the sacred water hole. After the ritual, the emblem is buried beneath the mud of the totem well and allowed to rot, and the ancestor spirits and the totemic spirit return to the subterranean depths. Man goes through exactly the same cycle of existence as the totemic spirit. The totemic spirit enters into the sacred water hole, goes through the ordinary water at the top of the well into the subterranean depths, and finally into the totem water beneath, where the Wongar ancestors live, becoming a part of the sacred configuration. The soul does exactly the same thing.

The soul, the totemic spirit, the Wongar or totemic ancestors, are all expressions of the fundamental sacred essence, the ultimate symbol of which is the totemic well, which is the repository of all the individual items which have been or will be incarnate in man or his religious objects.

The kinship organization classifies the social elements of ordinary behavior. The primary kinship system regulates the basic behavior such as marriage, descent of children, gift-making, economic behavior, et cetera. The moiety and clan generalize and classify this detailed kinship behavior into larger patterns; and they also articulate the ordinary

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
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daily life of the people as it is lived by the kinship group, to the totem well, and the individual to the realm of the sacred and the dead.

The unilateral clan differentiates certain lines of patrilineal kin from the kinship totality and organizes them into a spiritual group, the focal center of which is the clan totem well. The totem well as the integrating nucleus of clan solidarity organizes clan sentiments into a sacred unity. The basic factor in this spiritual organization is the relation of the living to the dead and the unborn. The dead souls are grouped into spiritual aggregates based on clan organization. They do not enter into general tribal groupings in the land of the dead, they do not divide on the dual basis of the moiety; but the various male relatives are separated in death if they do not belong to the same clan. Although in life there is an intensely close relationship between the mother's brother and his nephew, in death these relatives are separated by the division of the kinship system into clan groupings of the dead. It is, then, the clan division of the kinship system which orientates the living Murngin to the profane and sacred parts of the totem well and at death places him within the sacred part of the realm of the dead.

The two great classifying structures of Murngin culture are the kinship system and the totem well, both of which generalize the various elements in the total structure. The first basically controls the ordinary daily behavior of the Murngin, and the second organizes spiritual behavior and regulates the activities of the dead. The totem well classifies the totality of the sacred elements of the Murngin social structure. The totemic spirits, the totemic ancestors, the unborn souls and the souls of the dead are all thought to reside within the subterranean depths of the well. It is difficult to distinguish these sacred objects from one another. Even the recently dead soul can become a part of the totem and return in the totemic emblem to participate with it in the great rituals of the people.

The relation of the living to the dead and also the relation of the profane to the sacred can best be presented by Chart XVI. The line A-B separates the sacred from the profane. The seven vertical lines in the lower section which are crossed by the five lateral lines to form the checkerboard with the star at the right center, represent the primary kinship structure of the Murngin. The vertical lines are the patrilineal descent lines and the horizontal are those of generation. The cross-sections of the two form the kinship personality. The star represents Ego. His line and the line to the right of him, which is the mari-

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
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marelker, have arrows pointing up from them to a circle which is their clan; the next line at the right, kutara-gurrong line, has an arrow which points into another well. On the left side of Ego's line is found the gawel-galle line, combined with the dumungur-waku, and the dué-waku line, combined with the natchiwalker-gawel line into

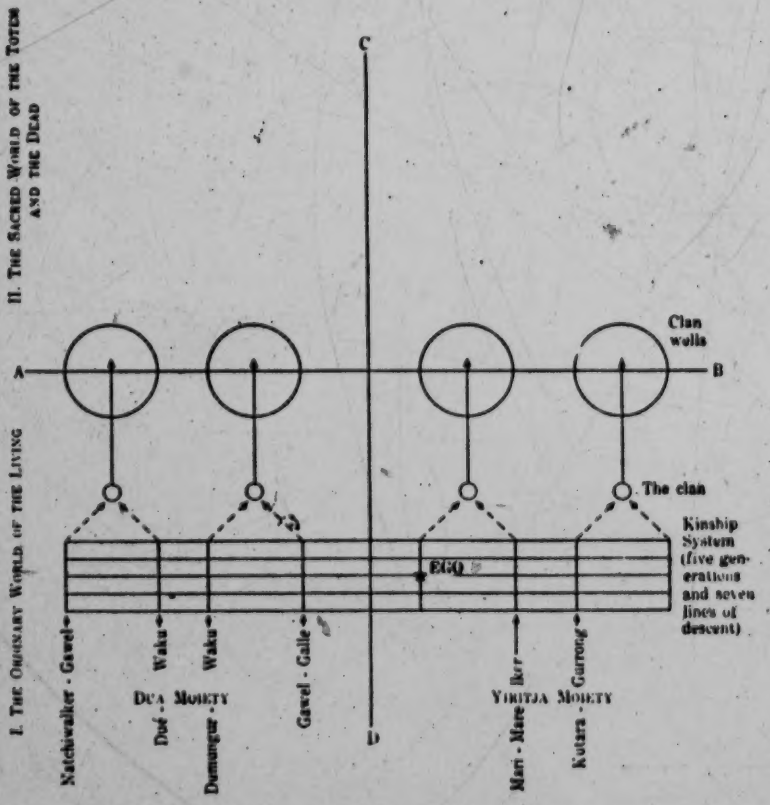

Chart XVI.—The Place of Death in the Murngin Social Structure

another clan group. Leading out of each clan circle is an arrow which enters into a circle above it, which symbolizes the clan well. It will be noticed that the symbol of each clan well will be found half below the line A-B which separates the sacred and profane, and half above it. The arrow leading from the clan to the clan well symbolizes the ritual relation of the profane to the sacred and serves to illustrate

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929)1937
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how the total life of the people is organized by, and pointed into, the clan well. It also, by piercing the lower and entering the upper half of the well circle, demonstrates that part of the relationship of clan to well is profane and part sacred. By profane behavior we mean, for example, the general camp use of the well for drinking water, the women soaking palm nuts in it, et cetera.[2]

This chart sums up the whole structure of Murngin society and relates the world of the ordinary to the world of the totem from the point of view of the whole group and from that of the individual participating in it.

[2] The dead in the totem wells are related since the living relatives are related because of the organization of the kin into the primary kinship structure. This makes it possible for the souls in the totem wells on the left-hand side of the C-D line, which is the Dua moiety grouping of clans, to stand in kin relation to the souls and the totem wells on the right-hand side of the line. Because of the articulation of the kinship structure to the clans, the totems at each well are also related. This is made possible because the patrilineal lines that enter into each totemic well called the totems of that well by the terms father and grandfather. The collateral relatives call these totems by the term that they would actually use if this totem were the real father of the clansman who uses such a term. For example, if a man in clan A calls his shark totem "father," his waku would call this totem nati.

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
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sible enemy group made him decide in favor of the reality of his experience.

After much conversation and discussion about it among the members of the two groups, it was decided that it must have been a dream and that it was not true. It was obvious that both sides wanted the relations to remain friendly.

There is some evidence that dreaming may explain the beliefs of sorcerers that they have killed certain people, since once a man gains a reputation for being a killer, and given the fact that the sorcerer kills men who stand in unfriendly relations with his group, it seems highly likely that some of his dreams would organize his antagonisms into a folk pattern in which he would be the soul stealer and his enemies the victims.

APPENDIX V

MURNGIN PERSONAL NAMES

The personal names of the Murngin are directly or indirectly connected with the various parts of the social structure to which the possessor belongs. The kinship and family structure are given expression in the fact that a man usually obtains his father's father's or mother's mother's brother's names, which conforms to the alternation of generation principle found in the extended kinship organization and in the subsection system. The clan and moiety are directly related to the personal names because some of the sacred and secular names always refer to an individual's totem and are usually connected with a clan well, or they may be the names of certain mythological ancestors which are again connected with the clan well. These names may be part of the Narra ceremony, since the names of the clan wells and those of the totem are called during this ritual. This is also true of the Wawilak cycle of rituals because the names of the ancestors are shouted during such ceremonies as the Djungguan, which means again that they have a totemic reference. A partial list of the names follows:

Men's Names:

Dar-per-aoi: the clan country from which this individual came.

Gur-nirn-oi: from the stone found in his clan country.

Walt-chi-mi: the name of a hollow drum-like totemic emblem which is supposed to stand up and walk around in the water and make a noise like a trumpet playing.

Nal-mi-a: mosquito.

Gan-du: refers to a totemic song and ship, the black color of a sail.

2: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1955
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I. "BASIC" LINES OF DESCENT

The kinship system then is, as Radcliffe-Brown has mentioned (1951:48), based on three "basic" patri-lines, i.e., three classes of male relatives in the second ascending generation, the MARI, MARIMO and NGADI. M.M.B. is distinguished from F.F., but M.F. and F.M.B. are classed together. The inclusion of NGADIWALGUR, as a special variety of NGADI, gives a secondary patri-line. Radcliffe-Brown has discussed the "matri-lines" stemming from these, and has demonstrated that the existence of the term NGADIWALGUR with its reciprocal DUMUNGUR makes it necessary to have seven vertical columns. There are three basic patrilineal lines of descent and three basic "matrilineal" lines of descent: on this structural feature we agree with Radcliffe-Brown (1951:49). There are, however, certain differences: see Table 1. Although there are three basic patri-lines plus four secondary patri-lines; and three basic "matri-lines" plus four secondary "matri-lines," only one patri-line and one "matri-line" are of immediate importance to EGO. Patri-line 0 is significant to an EGO because through it he inherits his linguistic group (*mada*), and thus his clan (*mala*) position. The moiety too is patrilineal; through this line he inherits his ritual position in the sacred ceremonies, together with sections of the relevant mythology and songs, sacred emblems and poles, feathered strings, and sacred uterus dilly bag, his section of the linguistic group and clan totemic patterns. His ritual status is determined through his membership in this patri-line, which includes male siblings of his F., F.F., and male children of the latter. (The females of this line also inherit a ritual status, but I shall not discuss this here.)

This line is the important *babaru*, the male descent line the sacred line through which a man prenatally receives his spirit, and into which when dead he merges as an ancestor. Magic too passes down this line, and all members of it are of the one moiety.

The "matri-line" (X in Table 1), cutting diagonally across the constant vertical "flow" of the patri-line, signifies a "submerged" line of descent. It is relevant to an EGO, but not to his father. It signifies too the importance of the line of his mother, who through her brother has been able to hand on to her son some of her acknowledged ritual status. She herself, because lacking in executive authority, cannot hand on such knowledge as she may have, but through the intense emotional siblings-of-opposite-sex bond (the strongest tabooed tie of all) she is able to delegate this duty to her brother, EGO's M.B. Consequently, EGO has a place in the patri-line of his M.B.; but this is actually of secondary importance, because his M.B. is of the opposite moiety.

But down this "matri-line" of EGO passes the knowledge and ritual status which skips a generation with the m. and M.B. and comes directly, so to speak, from EGO's M.M.B. to EGO himself, for these two are of the same moiety, i.e., from the M.M.B. to his Sr.D.S.

This is the important *maribula* line, of the same moiety as EGO's patri-line. To all intents and purposes it is identified with EGO's own line, and the rights and privileges which he inherits through it may be the same as those

[text continues on p. 87]

2: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1955
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611 613 descent group which can be brought into focus by consideration of its corporateness, its sense of common acting and belonging, its oneness as the *babaru*. I would prefer to call the members of this *babaru*, in totality, a *unilineal descent group* (e.g., Fortes, 1953:25) or *corporate descent group*. In its narrowest sense it is the direct line from F.F. to S.S., in its widest it incorporates male siblings of these persons, and female siblings of each generation grade who have not married outside. But the corporate descent group must exclude female siblings who are not coresident, for the term "corporate" suggests sufficiently close residence to enable more or less regular participation in organized group activities.

Now the patri-line suggests agnatic descent. Diagrammatically or otherwise we can speak of this collection of people as having each a definite position in such a *line*, but together they form the unilineal descent group and behave as a corporate unit. I do not consider that the use of the term "local line" in preference to "descent line" refines our definitions. But if we use descent line or patri-line to signify the type of descent, and to refer to an EGO's *immediate male* forebears and descendants, taking into account the depth of genealogical memory (in this case normally five generation levels, two above and two below), then it is a useful term. If we are to indicate the corporateness of the *babaru*, which will include male siblings and their S. and S.S., as well as unmarried female siblings of each of these, then we must use a descriptive term like "unilineal descent group" or "corporate descent group" or even Leach's "local descent group." The diagrammatization of this group may be designated the "local line," signifying its acknowledged totality.

D. *The Patri-Line (Descent Line): Corporate Descent Group*. Now the patri-line (descent line) is the minimal descent group. It is coresident with the maximal descent group, i.e., the totality of the acknowledged corporate descent group noted above.

611 613 621 All these male relatives (kin) with their wives occupy a specified tract of country over which they have hunting and fishing rights. In this area reside the spirits of their ancestors; in it are found their sacred sites and totemic centers, and to it belong their sacred designs and emblems. Excluding their wives they are the *corporate descent group;* including their wives, they are the *local horde*, the male-female co-operative hunting, fishing, and food-collecting unit.

613 614 621 197 [602] E. *Parallel Descent Groups (Linguistic Group)*. But within this specified territory are *parallel descent groups*. There may not be many of these, perhaps no more than two or three or at the most half a dozen. But together they form the *mada* or *linguistic group*.[4] Persons of the same generation level in these parallel descent groups are classificatory brothers, acknowledging a common ancestry, which may not always be genealogically traceable. They do not form a *clan* (*mala*), but together (as parallel descent groups) comprise one of several linguistic groups which make up the clan. Several *babaru* of varying size, then, in a parallel fashion, form the linguistic group.

613 F. *Minimal and Maximal Range of Babaru*. The *babaru* (the corporate descent group) tends to be the smallest unit outside EGO's direct descent line.

2: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1955
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Male siblings of any generation may segment with their descendants: this is particularly the case with male siblings of the second and third ascending generation levels. Actual relationship between members of these parallel groups tends to be somewhat vaguely conceived after the second generation, when use may be made of classificatory terminology considered to be more or less accurate. Each parallel group tends, too, to be more or less of the same size. The linguistic group signifying its maximal range is exogamous. Now, in my opinion the linguistic group could be treated as a lineage: but our labeling it a lineage would depend on our definition.

It may be possible to view the *babaru* as the effective nuclear lineage, conforming with Fortes' definition (1949:9): thus each "segment" would be an effective nuclear lineage which in toto (and in parallel linkage) would form the wider lineage or linguistic group. But our definition of lineage would have to be made, not only in terms of genealogically traceable male relatives, but also by allowing some coverage of classificatory male relatives who are viewed as belonging to a common unilineal descent group—which is exactly what the linguistic group is.

G. *Nature of Linguistic Group and Clan.* Each descent group is the *babaru;* it forms the basis for the expanded family, spread across the parallel descent groups within the linguistic group. All male members of the *babaru* have a common interest and a sense of belonging to a common stretch of country, of sharing a common sacred background. The head of the *babaru* will be the MARIMO, and it is upon his decision (usually) that fights and feuds are begun, continued, and terminated: he is, more or less, the jural head of his group. As we have seen, several of such groups form the linguistic group, which means that such parallel groups not only occupy the same ground, hunt together, join in sacred ceremonies together, and so on, but also speak a common dialect which distinguishes them from other linguistic groups. As a linguistic group, these parallel descent groups have in common sacred emblems, songs, sections of mythology, and patterns or totemic designs.

Now, it is true that, as Leach has remarked (1951:25), "The number of basic descent lines in such a diagram [i.e., the kinship system set out diagrammatically] depends merely upon how many different kinds of relative are recognized in the grandfather's generation. It has nothing to do with the number of local descent groups existing in the society." But the classification of such a system into seven basic and secondary patri-lines that symbolize local descent groups is an indication that a categorization takes place. This categorization is an abstract, so to speak, of what actually occurs. It is nothing so rigid as seven "watertight" groups; but what is inferred is a scattering of consanguineal and affinal relatives, throughout a number of linguistic groups. It symbolizes range.

Within the parallel groups forming a linguistic group one finds all kin who are actual and classificatory F.F., F., S., and so on. One might also conceivably find a scattering of relatives who belong to the patri-line of one's MARI, assuming the close identification of MARI with MARIMO. But usually the

2: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1955
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patri-line and hence the descent group, in its parallel extension, of the MARI would form a parallel linguistic group. That is to say, the MARI would belong to a corporate descent group, similar in structure to that in which we find EGO and his MARIMO, and several parallel groups of this substance would form the linguistic group, which would be parallel to the one in which we find EGO and his MARIMO and classificatory kin of his patri-line. These adjacent parallel linguistic groups, each of separate name, each claiming a separate dialect, we shall designate a *clan*, noting that each clan bears a separate name.

The linguistic group is loosely conceived as the political unit: and this may or may not include the descent group of the MARI. If the descent group of the MARI is outside an EGO's linguistic group, then the latter may be affiliated with the MARI's linguistic group, and become the combined ritual body or political unit. The number of parallel linguistic units found in any one clan varies, from one to several (six or so). And it is highly probable that EGO's *maribula*, which may be synonymous with the *gudarabula*, will be found here.

Now, the linguistic group, and the parallel linguistic groups forming the clan, are exogamous. For various reasons which we shall not discuss here, linguistic groups have, we may assume, grown unwieldy or been driven away from their home territories, and have thus settled elsewhere. Thus we find today that one linguistic group may be (e.g.) duplicated and scattered across eastern Arnhem Land, incorporated under another clan name, and parallel to other linguistic groups of different names. The whole area is divided among a number of clans of varying names, belonging to either of the two moieties, and containing linguistic groups which are often duplicated in other clans. But if EGO's *babaru* is found in one linguistic group and that linguistic group name is found in another part of the country, allocated to a different clan, a relationship is claimed as in the case of the parallel descent groups forming EGO's linguistic group. The same is the case with EGO's *maribula*, which may be found some considerable distance away from his own *babaru*. Similarly, the patri-lines which symbolize EGO's affinal descent groups of the opposite moiety may be adjacent to or some distance away from his *babaru* and *maribula*. In reality then, the patri-lines shown diagrammatically in the kinship system are scattered throughout eastern Arnhem Land, and are duplicated and reduplicated for the local descent groups, each being a corporate descent group. It is probably this situation which has given rise to the native classification of conventional intermarrying pairs of linguistic groups (this point will be discussed in another paper).

Some of the assumptions we have made regarding the distribution of linguistic groups, and their reduplication under different clans, need further discussion. This is not possible here, but must be considered in a separate study. Sufficient has been said to indicate that the basic social unit is the corporate descent group; and the linguistic unit under which this is classified, together with the one which contains the *maribula*, form the other joint body of some solidarity. It is said that the *babaru* and *maribula* are expected to act as one in all corporate enterprises, and their "union" is expressed particularly on

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OI17 Murngin OI17

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panel *f*, are welcoming the new spirit to his future home. In the upper part of *e* the new spirit is resting quietly in his camp after the ceremony is over.

Plate 100E also deals with the journey of the *jiritja* dead to Nalkuma.

On the upper left of panel *a*, the new spirit is asking the *Wulu-wulu* for the seed pods, *gurung-guru*, of the *menin* vine (Pl. 100C), so that he can enter Nalkuma. Three female *Mokoi*, the *Wulu-wulu*,[62] are picking the seed pods to give to him. The black bird is the jungle-fowl whose call has guided the new spirit to Gurila jungle. At *d*, the new spirit and the boatman, *Kultana*, are in the *Mokoi* canoe, *Lampu*, while in the bottom is a dugong they have captured and are taking with them to Nalkuma. To the left of the canoe are two dugongs, the white cross-hatching at the tail of the lower, and above the upper one, representing their wake. Panel *b* is the sandy shore at Port Bradshaw, *c* the shallow water, and *d* the open sea.

(2) The Totemic Places and Creatures of Port Bradshaw and Cape Arnhem

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In north-eastern Arnhem Land, where strong patrilineal clans or *mala* have the complete ownership of certain areas, the totemic places in those clan territories belong exclusively to the moiety of the aborigines who own the land. To show the richness of the mythology associated with one particular area, but which is typical of others, I have grouped all the art objects relating to the *jiritja* myths of Port Bradshaw and Cape Arnhem in one section.

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The area around Cape Arnhem, and, so far as I could ascertain, within the harbour of Port Bradshaw, having been created by a number of *jiritja* mythical men and creatures, is owned today by *jiritja* men of the *gumaitj mata* or language group. Although the *dua* ancestors, *Djunkgao* and *Madalait*, landed on Aparina Island, at the entrance of Port Bradshaw,[63] they do not appear to have entered the harbour, but established their camp at Jelangbara, a few miles [423] north of its entrance. Jelangbara is the property of the *dua* men of the *riredjingu mata*.

616 *773 825 [823]

Even though most of the *jiritja* totemic beings of Cape Arnhem and Port Bradshaw were harmless marine creatures, several of them are still feared. For instance, in a group of submerged rocks at Daliwa, between Cape Arnhem and Port Bradshaw, lives the serpent, *bilumbira*.[64] Should aborigines paddle too near his home, *bilumbira* will rise to the surface and with his long teeth, tear them and their canoe to pieces. The dugong, *mrrinjunga*,[65] at Nangata, south of Cape Arnhem, blows up smoke and fire to destroy his enemies, while the hawksbill turtle, *konyaradji*,[66] creates heavy seas which drown those who intrude on his domain. Within Port Bradshaw are two other dangerous creatures, the devil-ray, *mulara*, and the trepang, *teripi*. The former creates huge waves, and the latter spurts up fountains of water to destroy any trespassers.

62. See carved figure, Pl. 100c.
63. See myth of *Djunkgao* and the *Baijini*, p. 273.
64. See myth of *bilumbira*, p. 351.
65. See myth of dugongs, p. 363.
66. See myth of turtle, p. 117.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OII7 Murngin OII7

*773 *532 symbolizing its wake. Designs *b*, *b* are two trees at the totemic place, the transformed bodies of the fish, *bununba*. The four ovals in panel *c* are masses of eggs belonging to the same fish; they are now sand-banks. In panel *f*, the line of footprints at *d* are those of *Ngulamung* as he walked to the swamps to collect lily bulbs, and at *e* those he made on his return journey. At *g*, *g* are the bags in which he carried the bulbs, and *h*, *h*, the cooked bulbs.

In the lower panel, *j*, the lozenge-shaped figures are the bulbs of the lily, *jouku*, and *n*, their roots. The triangular patterns along the upper edge of panel *l* represent a sharp-edged grass growing in the swamp which cuts the legs of the aborigines; *k* is the toredo worm, *kaula-warak*, whose totemic place is also at Blue Mud Bay.

The Man, Wanamunguria, of Blue Mud Bay

● [614] The complete design on this *jiritja* pipe refers to the fresh-water swamps, the sandy beach, the rocks near the shore, the open sea, and a mythical man, *Wanamunguria*, all belonging to the *malarapa* clan country of Blue Mud Bay. The pipe is divided into two sections, the symbols on panel *a* picturing the swamps, and on the other, *d*, the sea, its creatures and the canoe of the mythical man, *Wanamunguria*.

Panel *a* of Fig. 634 is a fresh-water swamp covered with water-lilies, *jouku* (unidentified). The designs, *c*, are the leaves, and *b* the bulbs. The parallel lines, *d*, indicate the beach which separates the swamp from the sea. The lower panel, *k*, pictures the coast and the open sea. At *e* is an engraving of the canoe of *Wanamunguria*, with the four paddles lying in the bottom. The canoe has since been transformed into a large rock, *j*, on the sea coast. The lines *f* represent the open sea, *g* a dugong, and *h* a queen fish.

The Wrecked Canoe at Port Bradshaw

177 296 *532 In recent years, during a heavy storm, a large outrigger canoe, possibly from Papua, was cast up on the shore between Cape Arnhem and Port Bradshaw.[82] The designs on the canoe inspired one of the *jiritja* men to engrave this pipe.

Fig. 633B was covered, for most of its length, with triangles resembling the chord symbols used on the *jiritja* paintings of the Cape Arnhem and Port Bradshaw aborigines. Both these and the meandering designs at the end of the pipe are supposed to be a copy of those the artist saw on the canoe. This is the only example in my collection of Arnhem Land art about which the artist was unable to explain the meanings of the symbols he used.

The Yam, Trial Bay

*632 I did not gather any other details about the mythological story associated with this pipe, Fig. 630C, except that it belonged to the yam totem of Trial Bay.

82. The aborigines believe that these canoes are sent to them by the inhabitants of the *pulpa* 'heaven', Nalkuna. Myth. p. 331.

[text continues on p. 400]

614
532

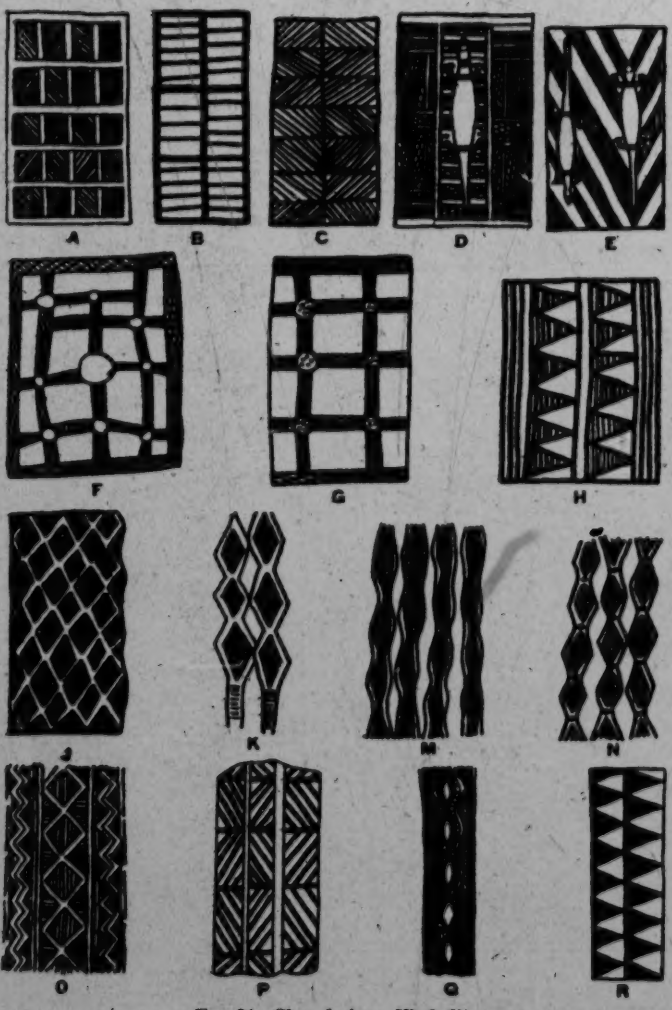

FIG. 64. Clan designs, Yirrkalla

A Djapu B Duralili C Nainmeri D Rirediingu E Ngainill
F Unidentified G Djamberpingu H, M, N Gumaitj J Dalwongu
K Mangililli O, Q, R Cloth designs, Celebes P Smoking pipe, New Guinea

5: Webb M-5 (ca. 1930) 1934
OI17 Murngin OI17

Kumandjan woman's children will always belong to the Bulain sub-section, and this order obtains right through the intermarriage of the eight sub-sections of the tribe. 582 611 616 617

All the members of each sub-section, both male and female, possess a definite relationship to some particular bird or animal, which constitutes their class totem or "jungoin." This form of totemism is but poorly developed, and any mature person, after passing through a brief ceremony, may freely kill and eat his or her totem animal. (See page 16.) 616 617

In this area the distinctive feature of the tribal organisation is the emphasis placed on the local hordes or clans, which are of great number, and in some cases contain but few individuals. Each horde consists of men of one moiety only, with their wives of the opposite moiety, and each horde possesses a definitely defined territory, which in every case includes a ceremonial totemic centre. This ceremonial totemism is, in contrast to the class totemism, very highly developed, and is of the utmost significance and importance. 614 621 778

These ceremonial totems, which are very numerous, in the vast majority of cases consist of— 532 778

(a) Representations of utensils and implements believed to have been originated, used and conferred upon the people by certain mythological ancestors.

(b) Representations of natural species associated in legend with these ancestors.

(c) Representations of these mythological ancestors themselves.

All of these are highly conventionalised in design.

These "Muraian," as they are called, lie at the basis of most of the ceremonial life of the people. They are most jealously guarded, and are believed to exercise a profound influence on the fortunes of the clan. The revelation of and the explanation of these "Muraian" constitute one of the most important stages in the education of the young men. 614 778

During the "Nara" ceremonies, which are associated with these "Muraian," the initiates have impressed upon them the ancient tribal regulations and sanctions. They are warned against being insolent to their elders, against dishonesty, against lying, against improper relations with women, and so are enforced many excellent ethical lessons. During their period of instruction they are placed under a food tabu, and are informed that any breach of the regulations taught will result in illness or deformity. 796 867 [784]

5: Webb M-5 (ca. 1930) 1934
OI17 Murngin OI17

778 The aid of these "Muraian," in which are believed to reside the spirits of their tribal ancestors, may be invoked, and I have heard an old man, addressing a group of initiates, declare that he had lived to an old age because he had been true to his "Muraian," which, he said, had protected him from his enemies and generally cared for him. One man told me that when away out at sea in his canoe, and being suddenly overtaken by a violent storm, he had called upon his "Muraian," and by their aid had been brought safely to land.

614 621 688 796 [778] During the preparations for, or the holding of, these ceremonies[1] it is expected that all matters likely to disturb the peace will be carefully avoided. If someone commits an offence during that period it is regarded as an insult to the particular "Muraian" concerned, and the men of the horde become most violently angry. In such a case the offender must make liberal payments to the chief men of the horde, who, in extreme cases, however, are not satisfied until the offender has been seriously injured, or even killed.

561 778 [787] Though at an early age youths are given some information concerning their own "Muraian," no man undertakes the manufacture of these sacred objects before middle life, and then only under the direction of the old men. From time to time, as opportunity presents itself, a man is shown the "Muraian" of hordes other than his own. Such knowledge is in no way compulsory or essential to his taking his full place in the tribal life, but rather marks an additional stage in his education, and so increases his influence.

614 616 619 778 It is through these "Muraian" that the only cohesion between the various scattered hordes is obtained. Hordes or clans of the same moiety, though as widely separated as Elcho Island and Blue Mud Bay, hold in reverence the same mythological ancestors, possess the same "Muraian," and so regard themselves as the same people.

060 It will be seen, from the above, how wide is the influence of these totemic beliefs, and how important a place they occupy in the life of the people. Further brief reference will be made to them under the heading of Death and Burial Beliefs and Customs.

1 [i.e. "NARA" CEREMONIES — ANALYST]

5: Webb M-5 (ca. 1930) 1934
OI17 Murngin OI17

primitive races. After the age of six or seven years the children very largely pass out of the direct care of their actual parents, and become part of the tribal group. Quite frequently they will spend weeks and months away with other members of the horde, but no concern is felt on their behalf. They are the children of the clan rather than of their actual parents.

At about the age of nine or ten the boys are taken away from the care of the women and the companionship of the younger children, and are prepared by the men for their initiation into the real life of the tribe. The chief feature of initiation in this area is the rite of circumcision, which is universally practised in East Arnhem Land. This actual ceremony is followed by a period of instruction, during which the boys are acquainted with their "marlk," or sub-section, their "jungoin," or totem, and the various laws and tabus designed to regulate their lives as members of the tribe.

There is in this area no initiation ceremony for girls, who, for the main part, accompany the women in their search for food, and generally become acquainted with the duties which they will be required to perform in later life.

In this district the children have nothing in the way of organised games, and for the main part find their amusement in the imitation of the doings of their elders. The boys arm themselves with the strong stalks of the long tropical grasses, and, taking sides, engage in strenuous spear fights. The girls play at cooking, the building of little humpies, and the nursing of babies represented by small bundles of paper bark. Both sexes join in elaborate mourning ceremonies over a dead bird or young animal, breaking off their wailing to indulge in hearty bursts of laughter. Life for them, during their early years, is happy, care-free, and undisciplined.

5: Webb M-5 (ca. 1930) 1934
OII7 Murngin OII7

Character, Arts and Crafts

Personal Character.

152 522 In personal character these aborigines are light-hearted and happy, with a great fondness for practical joking. Anything which places another in a position of discomfiture is hugely enjoyed. They are quick and rather violent tempered, but on the whole their temper is shortlived.

152 579 A comparatively trifling offence will quickly result in a general disturbance, in which both sexes engage, and during which weapons are brandished and an amazing amount of mutual abuse is indulged in, but usually little serious damage is done, and, having talked themselves out, life soon returns to its normal course.

157 As might be expected, there are some few individuals of a more sullen and anti-social type who become notorious as trouble-makers, and who constitute a difficult problem for their own people. The outstanding weakness of the aborigine's character is his want of a sense of personal responsibility. Rarely does a man act on his own initiative or assume and maintain an individual attitude in regard to any matter.

[157] [182] ●614 672 This is undoubtedly accounted for by the fact that in the aboriginal community the unit is not the individual, but the tribal horde. The tribe or group stands or falls together. Every member of it shares in the honour or disgrace of any one of its number. An offence by one member is regarded by another tribe or division as an offence by the whole of the offender's division. All are held as being equally guilty.

614 628 672 In such serious offences as occasion the shedding of blood, the members of the injured tribe or division make no special attempt to avenge themselves upon the individual who has actually committed the offence, but are as well satisfied if they succeed in punishing any member of the party to which he belongs. Though the tribe as a whole may strongly disapprove of the action of one of their number, by which action hostility has been created between them and another tribe, they, knowing they are all involved, must nevertheless stand behind this particular individual.

182 157 614 [672] In this way is the individual relieved of the responsibility of his own actions, and does not personally realise their results EITHER FOR GOOD OR ILL.

5: Webb M-5 (ca. 1930) 1934
OI17 Murngin OI17

either for good or ill. Thus there are found few natural leaders among these people, a man's individuality being submerged in the life of his horde or tribe. This same fact, coupled with the extreme isolation in which this race has for centuries lived, has also served to stultify progress. 157 182 [614]

Only by a man of exceptionally forceful character could reforms be instituted, and life has consequently gone on practically unchanged for countless generations. 178

Toward those whose friendship has been proved these aborigines show a splendid spirit of loyalty. Those who treat them in a fair and friendly fashion will receive fair dealing and devoted friendship in return. 577

Arts and Crafts

The weapons and utensils used throughout this area correspond to the usual aboriginal type, but include a number of local variations. Little use is made of any weapon other than the spear, though clubs of several types are used to a limited extent, as also are boomerangs. 411

There are many varieties of wooden spears, barbed and unbarbed, some of which have the head and the haft fashioned out of a single piece of hardwood in a very remarkable way. Flaked stone spear-heads are much used, particularly for fighting, and these heads are traded over wide distances. [438]

The use of iron, particularly for spear-heads and cutting implements, has been known for many decades, this material being obtained in limited quantities from the old traders from Macassar. Only boomerangs of a heavy type are used, and these are by no means common. The light, return boomerang is unknown, as is also the shield. 177 411 439

Many types of "dilly-bag" are made, some of which are of such fine texture as to retain water. Others are highly decorated with feathers or fur woven in during manufacture. The material used in most cases is the split leaf of the pandanus palm. Other bags are made of string knotted very neatly and evenly in an open mesh. Fish nets are also constructed in the same way. 415 [285] [286]

Excellent string is manufactured from bark fibre, grass, fur, and human hair, and is used for a wide variety of purposes. Much of it designed for ceremonial purposes is decorated with feathers interwoven during spinning. Strong rope is made of bark fibre or grass, and used in the harpooning of turtle, dugong, or porpoise, and for the mooring of canoes. 283

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
OI17 Murngin OI17

from the Church Missionary Society settlement at Groote Eylandt, and 90 miles from the nearest Methodist Mission at Elcho Island. Apart from the Mission stations of Roper River, Oenpelli, Goulburn Island, Milingimbi, Elcho Island, Yirrkalla and Groote Eylandt, which fringe the great Reserve, there is no other European settlement, except the new base subsidized by the Northern Territory Native Affairs Branch at Ambu Kambu on Groote Eylandt.

The whole region is rich in indigenous foods and resources, particularly along the coast. The sea abounds in dugong, turtle, fish, crayfish, shellfish, oysters, and crabs: inland, on the plains and in the jungles, there are wildfowl, emu, wallaby, kangaroo, and smaller animals, fruit, nuts, vegetables, berries, and a large variety of other bush foods, with quantities of fresh-water fish and crocodiles in the streams and rivers; and at times buffalo which have wandered eastwards from the Buffalo Plains west of Oenpelli. So plentiful is the food that, even in bad seasons, the quality may diminish, but rarely the quantity.

b Social Organization:

Before proceeding to our main study, it is necessary to outline briefly the structure of north-eastern Arnhem Land society. The work of Professor Lloyd Warner is the most reliable in this respect, while the Rev. T. T. Webb and Dr. Donald Thomson have written on the subject.[1] The reader will find sufficient detail in these for our present purpose. But it should be borne in mind that the organization of Yirrkalla society, although basically similar to that of Milingimbi, is in many respects decidedly different. Dr. Warner viewed aboriginal social life through the eyes of Milingimbi informants, influenced by cultural trends from Cape Stewart and the inland, while the present writer views the same position from the Yirrkalla point of view, uninfluenced to any marked degree from the west, but responding to contact from aboriginal groups to the south and south-west (this is particularly apparent in our study of the Kunapipi cult).

These people of eastern Arnhem Land, from Cape Stewart to Blue Mud Bay, had a general term for themselves—the Wulamba group of clans, forming a tribe with a more or less common cultural background: natives outside this region, such as those at Groote Eylandt, called them the "Balamumu" confederacy. Balamumu may be broadly translated as "those of the sea", that is, coastal people. The varying dialects (termed *mata*, "tongue") of these clans (*mala*)

1. L. Warner, *A Black Civilization*, New York and London, 1937; T. T. Webb, Tribal Organization in Eastern Arnhem Land, *Oceania*, Vol. III, No. 4, pp. 406–411; A. P. Elkin, Marriage and Descent in East Arnhem Land, *Oceania*, Vol. III, No. 4, pp. 412–416; D. Thomson, *Interim General Report of Preliminary Expedition to Arnhem Land, Northern Territory of Australia*, 1935–36, Department of Interior, Canberra, 1936, pp. 31–34.

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
OI17 Murngin OI17

are collectively known as Mi:woitj *mata*. Throughout the whole area the territory is divided between a number of clans, some of which have become extinct, while others have had their population seriously diminished. These clans have allocated to them certain *mata* (or linguistic groups), which may be interchangeable between clans belonging to the same patrilineal moiety. There is a pronounced emphasis on the importance of the *mata*, each of which exists as an almost independent unit. Again, many of these *mata*, like the *mala*, have become extinct or been absorbed by more powerful groups. They are of patrilineal descent, but there is a strong tendency for a person to feel some attachment to the *mata* and *mala* of his mother and mother's brother. These *mata* and *mala* belong exclusively either to the *dua* or to the *jiritja* moiety, and there is no variation in the use of these terms throughout the whole area.

The moiety is the most important control in the social organization of the Wulamba bloc: it divides all *mata* and *mala*, the whole life of the people and the known universe, into two groups, and affiliates all those belonging to one moiety. The moieties are exogamous, so that they remain the basis upon which marriage rules depend. All the *dua* people, for example, are *dua'kundit* (i.e. of one family) and the *jiritja* people, *jiritja'kundit*. This division of the people into moieties is said to have begun in the Eternal Dreaming Period, when the Djanggawul Beings removed from their uteri the first male and female predecessors of the present-day groups. Although Djanggawul themselves were *dua*, they were able to define the two moieties in their progeny. But Laintjung, being the chief *jiritja* Ancestral Being and a contemporary of the Djanggawul, assumed also the responsibility for establishing the *jiritja* moiety. The esoteric significance of the terms *jiritja* and *dua* is to-day unknown, although old and reliable aborigines state that both these moiety terms convey the meaning of metamorphosis: that is, they refer to a state of transition from the period in which the great Ancestral and Spirit Beings lived (i.e. the Totemic era), to the development of man as he is in this age.

These people also have a term, *jutu'indi*, which refers to all *dua* and *jiritja* people together, and not merely to a tribe consisting of both moieties, as the Wulamba. *Jutu'indi* is the concept of moiety unity, and may be loosely translated as "beginning"; for the people themselves say, "it is *jutu'indi* because, if I'm *dua*, *jiritja* is my mother, *dua* my daughter and son, and we are all one. . . ." But *jutu'indi* refers principally to members of inter-marrying *mata*, and not always to *mata* in outlying areas: that is, it is apt to have a restricted connotation.

Another interesting aspect of these moieties is that the *dua* seems to be associated with the ancient and purely indigenous belief, ritual and ceremony of the people, while the *jiritja* is concerned more

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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616 with introduced or external themes. The Djanggawul and Wauwalak [776] Spirit Beings, the guardians of the most sacred and esoteric ritual, are *dua*, while Laintjung, Baijini, Macassan and Badu mythology, [773] ritual, songs and belief are *jiritja*.[2]

As we have said, the *mala* and *mata* belong either to one moiety 614 or to the other; but detailed topographical maps of the region 197 reveal that clan territories are very elastic, so that isolated sites relating to one moiety may exist in the clan country of the opposite 616 moiety, and so on. Further, the traditional home territory of one [423] group may be situated elsewhere than it is to-day. This is often discovered only by analysis of clan mythology and its relationship to that of other clans, and the inclusion of linguistic groups in clans which originally were not associated with these particular *mata*. The whole study of clan and linguistic group organization is extremely complicated. We shall, however, mention several of the best known of these, in order to demonstrate their complexity: it is not necessary, for the purpose of this work, to deal with them in any detail.

Dalwongu is a *jiritja mata*, that means "Spring water flowing after 614 rain and the swamp bird, *wanba*, calling out when he sees it". It 616 belongs not only to the Nungulrulpoi (meaning "a shoal of *gunbirawi* young mullet") whose alternate name is Numbiripala (meaning 192 "those who subincise", that is, they are influenced from Rose River: *vide* the body of this work), or Malar'watjeri (i.e. "the clan of the subincision"), but to others. These particular Dalwongu are distinguished from the others by the "heavy" quality of their language. Allied to this Dalwongu *mata*, within this particular *mala*, are the Kalaulwun (meaning "the *wanba* bird in the bamboo tree") and Mararba (that is, "the *wanba* bird") *mata*, who belong also to other *mala* and not only to the Nungulrulpoi. The alternate term for the *mala*, Malar'watjeri, is used also as a separate *mala*, and its *mata* are Dalwongu, Bilmalandji ("paperbark near the salt water") and Di:agoi (meaning "paperbark"): this Dalwongu group is allied to the first, and to the other *mata* which are rightfully Malar'watjeri.

Another Dalwongu group belongs to the Ngelkala *mala* (meaning

[113] 2. *Vide* R. and C. Berndt, Sacred Figures of Ancestral Beings of Arnhem Land, *Oceania*, Vol. XVIII, No. 4, pp. 309–326, 2 plates and text figures; Secular Figures of North-Eastern Arnhem Land, *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 51, No. 2; R. Berndt, A Wonguri-Mandjikai Song Cycle of the Moon Bone, *Oceania*, Vol. XIX, No. 1, pp. 16–50; Badu, Islands of the Spirits, *Oceania*, Vol. XIX, No. 2, pp. 93–103, plate; C. Berndt, Expressions of Grief Among Aboriginal Women, *Oceania*, Vol. XX, No. 4, pp. 286–332; R. and C. Berndt, Discovery of Pottery in North-Eastern Arnhem Land, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LXXVII, Part 2; A. P. Elkin, R. and C. Berndt, *Art in Arnhem Land*, F. W. Cheshire, Melbourne, and University of Chicago Press, 1950; R. Berndt, *Djanggawul*, for publication (a detailed study of the Djanggawul religious cult of north-eastern Arnhem Land); R. Berndt, *Daughters of the Sun* (a further study of the Djanggawul cult from the north-central Arnhem Land point of view), for publication; R. and C. Berndt, *Arnhem Land, Its History and Its People* (F. W. Cheshire, for publication); R. Berndt, *Love Songs of Arnhem Land* (sexual behaviour in north-eastern Arnhem Land), volume for publication.

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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"a mangrove barramundi"), whose home is around Blue Mud Bay. Ngelkala is a "new" name, while the old term is Numburula, meaning "a barramundi springing up after small fish". Still another Dalwongu ("light" language) belongs to the Manaitja ("the wild honey bee"); another belongs to the Biringal *mala* (that is, "grass shooting out from a pool of water"), but is now allied to the Ri:tarngu (meaning the same as Biringal) *mata*; and another to the Mandji:kai ("sandfly") *mala*, being thus allied to a number of other *mata*.

Ri:radjingu is a *dua mata* (meaning "a long horizontal white cloud"), whose *mala* is Wururul ("from the blowfly"): it is allied to the Ba'rangu ("a white cloud") whose *mala* is Miliwuru (also a "white cloud"). The Ri:radjingu join, but are not directly associated with, the Kalpu *mata* ("the small *miliga* moon-fish") and Marakulu *mata* ("the *dandei* bark from the *durilji* gum tree"). The Kalpu are really Kaulwu:rl *mala* ("a bushy-topped spear-wood tree"), allied to the Djarlwak *mata* (associated with the spear-wood tree): alternate names for this *mala* are Mamari:n ("the spear-wood tree") and Djamunda ("little moon fish about the reef"). Marakulu *mata* is usually allied to Wurungguku ("the cry of the *wiriei* pigeon"), Marangu ("*durilji* gum bark"), Kopateiindamiri ("spear stick from the *durilji* tree") and Lultma'rangu *mata* (that is, "look down to the Marangu"), who belong to the Durilji *mala* ("sapling of a gum-tree"). Another Durilji group has the Dapingu *mata* ("pigeon"). Moreover, Marakulu, Marangu, Lultma'rangu and Kopateiindamiri *mata* can be Da:poingu (not Dapingu) *mala*, and Ri:radjingu, Kalpu, Ngeimil ("lily root") and Gwo:la mala ("salt-water catfish") *mata* can also join in.

This gives some idea of a few of the *jiritja* and *dua mala* and *mata*, together with the meanings of the terms which are directly and indirectly associated with the clan mythology, totemism and ritual life. "Inside" or sacred names are used also to refer to the clans; these, too, are associated with the ritual life, and are used only on the ceremonial ground in a special form of what are known as *bukalilji* (*jiritja*) or *bukali* (*dua*)—sacred invocations to the main Spirit Beings.

Each clan (or each linguistic group), or series of clans (or of *mata*), shares in a common mythology, and undertakes particular ceremonies associated with this. Each clan, too, has access to a number of waterholes, some of which are sacred; and each is guardian of sacred *mareiin* (an "outside" or camp term) or *rangga* ("inside" or sacred term) ceremonial objects, and of *nara* ceremonies. Frequently the members of both moieties unite to perform the *nara* of one clan (or *mata*), but the real ownership is rarely disputed.

Certain *mata* are more closely allied by ties of marriage than are others, and each *mata* has definite *mata* of the opposite moiety with which it prefers to arrange marriages.

This is the fundamental basis of Yirrkalla, and north-eastern

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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Arnhem Land, social organization: the division of society into two groups (that is, moieties) was, with the kinship structure, the traditional norm. But within recent years the sub-section system has been introduced from the south and south-west, coming up the coast through Rose River and Blue Mud Bay. In the Milingimbi region it seems to have been introduced at an earlier date, through contact with the inland tribes, particularly the Reinbaranga. At Yirrkalla, however, the sub-sections are not yet completely co-ordinated with the kinship terminology, and among the older people are not in constant use. Certain sub-section terms are however mentioned from time to time in this work, in reference to Ancestral Beings; they will not be discussed in this context, and reference should be made to the work of L. Warner, T. T. Webb, A. P. Elkin and R. Berndt.[3]

c The Religious Quality of Yirrkalla Social Life:

Yirrkalla society, like most other Australian Aboriginal communities, whether of desert, hill or coast, must forage for its food, the abundance of which depends on the particular environment. On the north coast and rivers of Arnhem Land, food of many varieties is available in great quantities. In spite of this, however, its constant supply is said to depend on the rhythm of the seasons, upon the mythical characters of the Eternal Dreaming Period, and on the performance of associated ritual and ceremony. In order to ensure a constant supply of food, in the form of natural species generally, these aborigines rely on the great ceremonial cycles of *djunggawon*, *kunapipi*, *ngu:rlmak*, and the *dua* and *jiritja nara* cycles which are usual in this region. These rituals, associated with the principal Ancestral Beings such as Djanggawul, Wauwalak, Laintjung, Banaitja and Baijini, are the basis of indigenous religion. But they are not concerned merely with the provision of food. Their purpose is, primarily, to ensure the continuation of the human species; the increase of all other animals, birds, fish, vegetable matter, and so on, is only an adjunct to the main theme.

This religion then is a dominant quality in Yirrkalla life, and is reflected in all its institutions and conventional forms of behaviour. It concerns itself with the fructification of all living things, and in that category human beings themselves are considered the most important. As, however, the Kunapipi cult is especially concerned with their rhythmic sequence of birth and rebirth, it is crystallized in a definite concept of a Fertility Mother. Moreover, the cult is concerned with the coming and going of the seasons, the appearance and disappearance of vegetable and plant matter, and the propaga-

3. *Vide* L. Warner, *op. cit.* 1937, pp. 116–124, and his Morphology and Functions of the Australian Murngin Type of Kinship, *American Anthropologist*, n.s. 33, 2, 184; T. T. Webb, *op. cit.* pp. 406–408; A. P. Elkin, *op. cit.* pp. 412–416; R. Berndt, *Love Songs of Arnhem Land*, Chap. 1.

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
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Wauwalak sheltered, and into which the Julunggul came, the *murlk* symbolizes the uterus of the Mother (the Wauwalak or Djanggawul). Old aborigines say: "You know, when the Julunggul went into the hut, we mean that a penis is entering a woman's vagina, and this hut is a uterus too: that is why we have it on the sacred ground, for it reminds us that everything must come from the Mother's uterus. That is how we came in the Dreaming; and people still continue to come in that way, don't they? And why do we have that Julunggul? Well, don't we have to have a penis to open up and inseminate the woman, so that she can give birth to children? And when the Julunggul swallows the Wauwalak, that is like a penis being swallowed by a vagina, only we put it the other way around. Now, when we hold our big rituals, we do the very same things, because we want the seasons to come, and things to grow, and people to be born: that is the real meaning of what we do".

The Kunapipi rituals have been described in some detail by Dr. Warner (*op. cit.* pp. 290–311), and the reader is referred to this for comparisons. We will mention only various features found in the Yirrkalla region, indicating their relation to the Wauwalak mythology, and interpreting (from native explanations) the actions of the neophytes. It is beyond the scope of this work to record minute details of each stage of the ceremony, for this would entail description of dancing and many irrelevant actions, individual interpretations, and the whole interaction of men and women in and away from the sacred ground. Some of the Kunapipi songs, used both on the sacred ground and in the main camp, are given in Chapters VII and VIII, and these reveal certain details not treated here.

* * * *

The Kunapipi is held usually in the dry season, when food is plentiful; for during this ceremony people are reaping the benefits of performances held in the previous year, and at the same time are preparing for the coming wet season and the subsequent growth of food. Ceremonies may extend over a period of two weeks to two months, and in unusual cases as long as two years. But now, when the Mission frowns on the Kunapipi and its attendant rituals, it may be brought to a close after a few days with the result that much of the intricate symbolism is omitted. The principal Kunapipi leader is usually a man of the Li:alauwermiri or an affiliated linguistic group, or one whose totemic *rangga*, *mareiin* objects, or song cycle are associated with Muruwul sacred well and the Wauwalak. In the Yirrkalla region the Kunapipi leaders may have come from Rose River, being members of groups which are in other respects culturally alien, or from *dua* clans near Rose River who have obtained the Kunapipi from further south.

7: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1952
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Significance of the Djanggawul

There seem to have been, originally, several basic types: the *djuda*, or tree *rangga*, from which trees sprang up when the *rangga* was plunged into the ground by the Djanggawul; the *manwulan*, or stick used by the Djanggawul Brother as a 'walking stick', which he plunged into the ground so that spring water gushed forth; the *ganinjari*, 'yam' or walking stick (sometimes confused with the *manwulan*), carried by the Sisters, and used for obtaining water in the same way;[1] and the *djanda*, or tail of the goanna, with the same function as the *manwulan*, derived from the goanna seen by the Djanggawul on arrival at Jelangbara, Port Bradshaw.

These original forms have been elaborated into a variety of *rangga* emblems. They include various poles or objects of totemic *wongar* origin, related directly or indirectly to the Djanggawul: *rangga* symbolizing vulva or vagina, penis or testes; stone *rangga*, derived from a stone which was removed from the vagina of the younger Sister; and conventionalized representations of the Djanggawul themselves, for example, the *wirlgul* (younger Sister) *rangga* or the *gungman* (elder Sister) *rangga*. All of these are decorated with clan patterns derived from those originally given by the Djanggawul[2] to the 'new generation' which emerged from the Sisters' uteri; and most have attached to them feathered string—the red parakeet feathers symbolizing the rays of the sun, the red sky at sunset, or blood from the Sisters. They are used in dancing on the sacred ground, and in posturing before the sacred shade or hut; the latter symbolizes the uterus or *ngainmara* mat, and in it *rangga* are stored just as were the first *rangga* in the beginning. Parakeet feathered string was also among the objects brought by the Djanggawul.

All these objects, then, have symbolic significance, and relate to the basic theme of Djanggawul ritual and mythology. This theme is fertility, manifested in the perpetually pregnant Women, the Two Sisters, in the growth of trees and foliage, in the creation of running springs, and in the abiding and life-giving warmth of the sun's rays. It reflects the Aborigines' fundamental reliance on the products of their natural environment, and their emphasis on the procreation of human and animal life, the continuance of their own species and of the food which supplies them with sustenance. They see the theme of fertility mirrored in their surroundings, and in the rhythmic sequence of the seasons, and recognize their own dependence on these and on other natural phenomena for their very being.

[1] The two Sisters are also said to have urinated in various places, making sometimes small streams, and sometimes pools or wells: in the latter case, the well itself is often likened to their vaginae.

[2] *Vide* A. P. Elkin, R. and C. Berndt, *Art in Arnhem Land*, pp. 28–41.

Comments on Part One of the Songs

539 that to-day a reef lies there. Finally, we are told that they are worrying about the *rangga* and mat they have thrown into the sea (Song 27); they are exhausted after their long journey. They beach their canoe, and exclaim that at last they have reached their own land.

539 61 In Song 1 (*et. seq.*) Bralbral[1] and the Djanggawul call each other by the kinship term *waridj*; this is equivalent to *wari* or *gudara* (mother's mother, mother's mother's brother, mother's brother's son's wife, mother's mother's brother's son's daughter, wife's brother's wife, mother's mother's brother's son's son, etc.).[2] The term *waridj* is also commonly used at Yirrkalla (although not at Milingimbi) to signify a non-tabued 'mother-in-law' (mother's brother's wife), a relative who, if actually a wife's mother, would be *mugul rumurung*. Bralbral continually asks questions, intimating that he is less knowledgeable than the Djanggawul; and he has little or no handling of the *rangga*.

539 The Djanggawul and Bralbral rest on their oars when they are tired (for example Song 1, line 11), or when they fear a marine monster (Song 15, line 1) and must go carefully. As they paddle they undulate their buttocks, swaying their hips, as they stand and dip their oars from side to side.

Throughout this Part of the cycle references are made to the Morning Star, which provides a definite link with the island of Bralgu. It is said that as the Djanggawul look back, seeing the arc of light made by the Morning Star (for example Song 1, line 14), they are able to gauge the distance they have come, as well as the distance they have yet to go. The Star's disc is an 'eye' (line 16) which is said to 'swim' along through the water (line 17) and mount into the sky; it cannot rise too far, for it is held at the end of a string and must remain over Bralgu. The Morning Star is really a ball of seagull feathers attached to a long string, which in turn is tied to a paperbark sapling; there is not only one Star, but many (see latter part of Song 1). The Spirit people at Bralgu hold a ceremony each night and early morning. They dance with arms outstretched (line 19), and sing. As they pound their feet upon the ground, great clouds of dust rise upwards and bring the dusk which, as their dancing intensifies, turns to night. They then manipulate their long dancing pole (the paperbark sapling), with the long string to which feathered balls are attached (line 21). Each 'ball' represents a Morning Star, which the Bralgu Spirits send out towards a particular place on the mainland; it is one of these Morning Star 'balls' which guides the Djanggawul on their journey across the sea.

[61]

[1] Bralbral's name is used to designate a clan in the Wessel Islands—the Barabara or Ba'ralbu'ral; the clan is also termed the *bubaru* (father's clan) of this Ancestral Being.

[2] *Vide* texts and notes in proposed *Oceania* monograph.

in weaving and spinning by hand, and employ a simple spindle for the manufacture of string from opossum fur and human hair. They are skilled as wood carvers and make elaborately-barbed spear heads of wood, carved sacred totemic objects, and grave posts, as well as wooden dugout canoes. They also possess some skill in the working of metal, and make fine iron spear heads by beating out, cold, such unpromising material as odds and ends of scrap metal, rigging screws from ships, heavy metal drums, and even water pipes. In many of these processes the possession of special skill is recognised by the use of a distinctive name, and in their technology there is evidence of the beginning of craft specialisation.

Some account of the social organisation of the natives of Arnhem Land will be necessary in order to understand the economic organisation, food gathering and food preparation, and particularly the division of labour and the distribution of food.

The people of Eastern Arnhem Land are organised on a basis of localised totemic clans with patrilineal descent. The bond between members of a clan is descent, or belief in descent, from a common ancestor. Just as the individuals within each clan are believed to be related, so the clans themselves are considered to be linked to one another by the bonds of kinship which once existed among the clan ancestors or culture heroes who were the founders of the clans, thereby establishing a permanent relationship between the groups containing their kin which are believed to be descended from them.

In at least one respect the social organisation of Arnhem Land, east of Cape Stewart, is atypical. The definite tribal organisation which is a characteristic feature of most other

9: Thomson E-5 (1935-1943)1949
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tenuity of their relationship, gauged by the degree of totemic inheritance. But these groups are certainly not tribes.[9]

The clan, or in practice its occupational group, the horde (*vide infra* p. 12), is the most important unit of social life in Arnhem Land. The clan is the territorial or land-owning group, but the horde is the war-making group, and each horde is to a large extent independent and self-governing. Anything approaching kingship or chieftainship is unknown in Arnhem Land. Law, order and discipline is laid down by tradition. It is defined in the mythology, and in the sagas of the culture heroes, and is maintained by public opinion, enforced by the old men, who act as custodians of the heritage of the clan. The authority of the old men is backed, in turn, by the *wäŋärr*, the totemic ancestors themselves, whose edicts are enforced by the threat of supernatural sanctions.

There is no individual ownership of land. Land ownership is vested in the clan as the hereditary group, and as this is a *patrilineal*[10] society, a man is born into his father's clan and has hunting rights over the territory of his own clan and generally over that of several others, particularly that

[9] The arbitrary use of the term *Murngin*, "tribe", for the people of Eastern Arnhem Land, which was introduced by Professor W. Lloyd Warner (*A Black Civilisation*; New York and London, 1937) is particularly unfortunate, for as was pointed out (footnote 5) east of Cape Stewart in North Central Arnhem Land tribal organisation is conspicuous by its absence from the intricate social organisation of the area, although it appears again at Groote Eylandt in the Gulf of Carpentaria, and occurs along the Roper River. The word *murngin* has nothing to do with social organisation, and is in no sense the name of a "tribe".

[10] Descent, among the aborigines, in family, clan and certain other hereditary groups, is reckoned either in the male line, i.e. through the father, in which case it is called *patrilineal*, or through the mother, when it is called *matrilineal*.

[423] of his mother, which is known by a distinctive term, *yindi-*
[614] *pulo*, (*yindi*, big). The mother's clan stands in a special
602 relationship, and a man regards its members as his own people. In times of trouble or feud, or during the quarrels about women which rage intermittently, he can be assured of sanctuary there. (*Yindipulo* applies to the mother's clan itself, and to members of the clan collectively.) They take his part in fights and he exercises hunting rights over their
[604] territory as if he belonged to the clan. A special relationship exists between a man and his mother's brother, called *kauwäl* (reciprocal term *wäkku*), who is a member of the mother's clan. This man is regarded as "like a mother" and he remains a special friend and ally throughout life.

594 In Arnhem Land the most important unit of social life
614 is the family, the group which consists of a man, his wife or wives and their children. The family unit however lies outside the clan organisation, for the clan is a group whose members are either bound by ties of kinship and the bond of descent from a common totemic ancestor or by a belief that they share this bond, and they are
614 also linked by the possession of totems in common. And
621 since the people are patrilineal and the clan group is *exogamous*[11]—that is, a man may not marry a woman of the same clan—the group which actually *occupies* the clan territory is made up of the male members of the clan and their children, *plus* their wives (who remain members of other clans—the clans into which they were born), and *minus* those female members of the clan who have married into other clans. To this occupational group the name "horde" is applied. The clan is an hereditary
[597] group, entry into which is by birth alone, but a person may enter a horde by marriage or by adoption. The *clan* is a permanent and stable unit of social organisation; the

[11] See footnote 7 (page 10), on the dual division and exogamy.

horde rests on no such solid foundation and is unstable. 614 621

Membership of each group within this complex segmentary organisation carries its own (often conflicting) solidarity and obligations, which however, form an integral scheme. Obligation and counter-obligation, defined by membership of the clan, and especially by kinship, supplies the incentive to work, to produce wealth and *gerri*, (page 5). Kinship also provides the chief basis for the division of the proceeds of communal enterprise. 602

Before discussing the economic structure in detail, it is necessary to look at the environment, the background, in which the aborigine lives. We must examine the natural resources which are available to him both for the gathering of food and for the manufacture of weapons, implements and utensils, as well as for the building of houses and watercraft. It is necessary to study the methods he has developed for the exploitation of these resources, for the collecting of raw material, for the manufacture of food and the utensils necessary in his domestic economy and activities. It is necessary, also, to examine any mechanisms which he may have developed for the distribution of these goods between individuals within a group, or between groups, and again, in a wider field, to trace the beginning of any system of barter or trade in manufactured objects or commodities, with groups in distant areas. 121

Does such exchange or trade exist? Is it a regular, (organised) matter or merely casual and sporadic? How is it carried out, and what is the motive force, the incentive, which is required to overcome the difficulties inherent in the "segmentary organisation" which would tend to prevent any extensive form of intercourse between widely separated groups? We have seen already that the segmentary organisation, which divides the people into small groups, each with an intense internal solidarity, also furnishes a basis for 571 619

9: Thomson E-5 (1935-1943)1949
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or south-east season, and "shades" of boughs in the very hot dry weather, to the crescentic and semi-circular houses thatched with teatree bark, and the more elaborate rectangular huts of stringybark which are used in the wet season, and are of a more or less permanent nature. The large rectangular houses were, however, probably developed or modified as a result of Malay or Macassar influence. 221 342 361 [177]

When the flood waters subside after the storms and rains of the north-west season, the large wet season camps break up into small groups consisting of a few families, which disperse to lead a nomadic life within the confines of their own clan territories. Each phase, each season, has its own related food supply, and this is the chief factor which determines the daily activities of the people and also the area in which they are to be found at any time of the year. As the season advances and the grass dries, they practise systematic burning of the country in conjunction with their hunting activities. This is not a random business; it is well organised, and is carried out by the men as a communal enterprise, although in a restricted and controlled manner, with "drives" for kangaroos, wallabies or other game. 221 361 221 224

The actual burning of the grass is directed by the old men of the clan, or by others who have an hereditary right, especially by men of other clans who stand, under the kinship system, in the relationship of *wäkku* (son, woman speaking; sister's son, man speaking) that is, men to whom the clan is *yindipulo* (see pp. 11, 12). Such men are necessarily members of the opposite moiety, and to those unfamiliar with the people, they may appear to usurp the authority, to dominate the affairs, of clans to which they do not belong. But it is part of the traditional behaviour in this area, that certain people of *dua* moiety carry out some of the ritual tasks for members of certain clans of *yiritja* moiety to which 224 887 614 602 [616] 602 614 616

602 they stand in a particular relationship, and for *yiritja* to
614 reciprocate for *dua*. The foregoing account applies also to
616 the organisation of most communal enterprises such as
[226] large-scale fishing drives, where the technique is related to local conditions, and therefore has a localised background. In such cases the practice is regarded as traditional, as a part of the pattern or heritage which has been passed to the clan by its founders, the totemic ancestor or ancestors, and which is therefore the special right or privilege of its mem-
[628] bers. Such traditional rights are invariably recognised and respected by other clans and are rigidly enforced, so that any violation may lead to punitive measures and even result in an inter-clan feud. And since the procedure is well understood by all participants, differences or disputes rarely, if ever, arise, and control or authority is not apparent. Most of these enterprises run so smoothly that only those who know the people and understand the social organisation would be aware of the identity of the man in authority.

224 At the conclusion of a hunting "drive" or grass burning
226 operation, or after the completion of a communal fishing
602 expedition, the game or fish is divided equally among those who took part. The group will then often sit down and cook or partially cook the food before taking it back to camp, when it is again sub-divided by each of the people according to his or her own family or kinship obligations.

224 While the burning of the grass yields an appreciable
[36] amount of animal food, of which the most important are kangaroos and wallabies among larger quarry, and such small game as bandicoots, opossums, "goanna" or Monitor lizards (*Varanus*), and snakes—it also has the effect of destroying the tops of food plants, which can then no longer be detected by the women. Burning must, therefore, be

182 a man's or woman's own horde with whom he or she comes
431 into daily contact. They extend also to members of
461 other hordes and are emphasised strongly on occasions
602 when people from distant groups to whom the kinship
[574] organisation is extended, come as visitors. For a young man, such obligations are intense, and to discharge them he is obliged to keep up an almost continuous stream of presents, which entails constant work.

182 With each successive stage of initiation it is obligatory
431 for him to make gifts to the old men of the clan group into
461 which he is being initiated. This may become very irksome
626 and may even reach a stage when no matter how hard he
561 works he is unable completely to discharge all his obligations, so laying himself open to the fear of reprisals, such as
[754] visitation by *kälka* (sorcerers who kill by the use of magic) or by other agencies. Fear of the use of secret methods of reprisal is a very real one, and provides, for a man, one of the strongest inducements to work, to keep pace with his obligations, and so to give no cause for resentment.

431 In those ceremonies such as the *kunabibbi* and *gulmark*
561 which transcend clan and tribal boundaries, and are not
796 restricted to, or regarded as the proprietary right of, a
614 small group such as a clan, but are practised widely throughout the territory, these obligations are less onerous. In
778 others, of the type called *märdai'in*, the initiation ceremonies carried out by each clan or group of clans sharing the same totems, at which its sacred totems are revealed, the burden of the gifts or payments is a heavy one. The internal solidarity of these small groups is intense, and their *märdai'in* or *räŋga*—the secret name for the objects which represent the *mälli*, the "shade" or "spirit" of the totemic ancestors themselves—are jealously guarded. These *räŋga* are very sacred and are regarded as dangerous to the

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uninitiated because they are endowed with a force called *marr* (*mana*)[18], and large presentations of food and *gerri* are obligatory to all those to whom these *räŋga* have been revealed and who thus share in the solidarity of the group.

Such obligations recur at every stage in each initiation, and following upon each ceremony a man must make a big ceremonial presentation of objects of value, *gerri*, such as fine spears, belts of human hair and especially gifts of the type that are appropriate to the geographical quarter (*kumur*, page 67), within the ceremonial exchange cycle in which his clan territory lies.

If a man comes from a group some distance away, and the occasion is an important one, a dugout canoe (*lippa lippa*) may be presented. This is a big gift and highly valued. It is important to realise that there is no attempt to assess the value of these things but rather to create a feeling of goodwill, to leave behind a good impression, which a man knows will enhance his prestige and react in his favour in future transactions. He knows also that he builds up goodwill by a reputation for generosity and that this in turn may mean that he will be selected as the recipient of the *wärna*, the armlets of opossum fur string or *lindiritj* (Lorikeet's feathers) and other paraphernalia

[18] *Marr* is a kind of spiritual force or "power" very like the Polynesian concept of *mana*, which underlies social and ceremonial life. It occurs in all sacred objects and is the "force" or "power" which makes them dangerous to the uninitiated or profane and a source of strength and "power" to the fully initiated members of the clan or other organisation. *Marr* is not strength or power, danger or sacredness, alone, although it may be each and any of these things. It is the power which makes a *räŋga*, a totemic object, sacred, which makes a dead body dangerous, and which brings good or bad "luck" in hunting. *Marr* is the force which makes a man *tjämbait*, i.e. successful or "lucky" in the pursuit of game.

9: Thomson E-5 (1935-1943) 1949
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4.

CRAFT SPECIALISATION

463 In most parts of Australia, the material culture is relatively simple, and each individual makes for himself most of the weapons and implements that he uses in his daily life. This is generally the case in Arnhem Land, and a man makes his own spears, spear-throwers, and most of the other equipment that he needs for hunting and fighting. But frequently he admires the handiwork of others who show special skill in technique. This is particularly the case with spears, in which it is of some importance to a man to believe that his weapons are superior or that they have some special quality. He often acquires spears from relatives in the particular quarter within the exchange cycle which may be renowned for such weapons, giving in exchange, spears which he himself has made and which may have special merit in the eyes of people in the territories through which they pass.[28]

(431)

411 [28] The distribution and the use of various types of spears is not as simple as might at first appear. Both in Arnhem Land and on Cape York Peninsula, North Queensland, the serrated spines of the stingray are used for the tipping of spears. On Cape York Peninsula these nails or spines are regarded merely as material for the tipping or barbing of fighting weapons and may be used by anyone. But in Eastern Arnhem Land stingray spines are associated in mythology with *Bulmändji* (Tiger Shark), a culture hero of certain clans claiming *Bulmändji* as a clan ancestor, and the right

411 614 773

Not every man is skilled in weaving *bäti* (baskets), of which many types are recognised, each with its own name and each made for a specific purpose. A man with special skill in weaving becomes known, but he is called merely *koŋ mainmäk*, a "good hand". Such a man may acquire some local renown and receive substantial payments (*baka bäkmärämma*) in return for his work, but again, this is a tribute to, and an acknowledgement of, the *marr* of the master craftsman, the prestige he brings, rather than "payment" for his activities, his craftsmanship. But it shows the beginnings of the recognition of craft specialisation, the *virtu* of special skill in craftsmanship.

But in the case of the *lippa lippa*, the wooden dugout canoes, which may exceed 24 feet in length and may be capable of carrying upwards of six to eight men on sailing

to use these stingray spines is the prerogative of these clans only and is jealously guarded.

Again, the fine appearance and balance of a spear is not always a gauge of its worth. I once remarked to an informant, Raiwälla, of a spear shaft, that it was crooked and twisted, and the spear not of much value. But he corrected me quickly and pointed out that as the shaft was crooked the spear was not "flash" and was therefore more likely to fly straight to its mark. Such a remark is enlightening, because it stresses at once the great difference in the way in which the white man and the Arnhemlander look at even so simple an artefact as a spear. To the white man, a wooden shaft is of good or indifferent craftsmanship, but the native attributes personality to it. Its very appearance may be deceptive. It may possess *marr* from its background and association. For this reason a native may place great value upon spears received within the ceremonial exchange cycle, from areas renowned for weapons of a certain type, although to the eye of the white man they may appear to be inferior to those which he makes for himself. The native recognises the prestige (the *marr*) of the master craftsman. By their associations certain *gerri* possess *marr*, and they have therefore a vastly enhanced *psychological* value as fighting or hunting weapons.

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5.

THE CEREMONIAL EXCHANGE CYCLE IN ARNHEM LAND

When a newcomer in Arnhem Land settles down among the people, he quickly becomes familiar with the material culture and technology and is struck by the localised and restricted nature of the distribution of certain elements and minor traits and even of technological materials, and by the extreme conservatism of the people.

In the case of certain elements—in particular, the *mintji*, the magnificent patterns in polychrome, the totemic designs which are the hereditary property, the "copyright", of a group called by these people, *barpuro*, (a clan or an aggregation of clans, linked by the possession of common totemic ancestors)—this is understandable. Anything, whether social or material, which touches the solidarity of these closely-integrated groups, is jealously guarded, and its infringement bitterly resented and quickly avenged.[31] So that prudence, as well as conservatism, plays a part in restricting

[31] Sometimes this may be averted by expiatory or conciliatory payments of food or *gerri* to appease the injured or offended sentiments of the individual or group, which serve to restore a state of *euphoria* or ritual goodwill. But these presentations are invariably carried out in a ritual or ceremonial manner which gives them the stamp of formal approval of the society acting as a group and so lifts them above the level of mere personal or private feuds.

184 the free use of certain elements, because they are regarded
424 as the special prerogative of one clan or group of clans. This
614 applies most strongly to matters which relate to clan totemism, but in material culture it may extend even to such
[226] things as the technique of fish capture, the right to practise some specialised method of fishing, such as the *gorl*,[32] which have been developed in adaptation to peculiar local conditions and which are regarded as the exclusive property of the members of one clan or group of clans, who alone have the traditional right, not merely to fish in one territory, but even the exclusive right to practise the technique itself. In the case of the *gorl*, which is one of the most specialised methods of fish capture found anywhere in the world, this can easily be explained, for the technique is used only in one area on the Glyde River where it is localised in the territory of one or possibly of two, clans, and is therefore regarded as under protection of the *wänärr*, the ancestors of the clan or clans concerned.

184 The restriction of the use of such traits and specialised
424 techniques as the *gorl*, which are jealously guarded, and of
[688] which any infringement is bitterly resented and visited by
[685] vengeance, often leading to fighting and interclan feud,
[628] rests upon the belief that the heritage which its members have received from the *wänärr*, the ancestors of the clan, has been infringed, and that its solidarity has suffered damage thereby, rather than from economic motives such as the desire to monopolise food supplies, raw materials, or *gerri*, as with civilised man.

181 Even apart from these matters which touch on the
184 solidarity of groups and which therefore restrict the distribution of a trait or process, the people are extremely

[113] [32] See Donald F. Thomson, *A New Type of Fish Trap from Arnhem Land, Northern Territory of Australia*, Man, 1938, No. 216.

9: Thomson E-5 (1935-1943)1949
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GLOSSARY

Clan. The clan (not "tribe") is the most important permanent unit of social life in Arnhem Land. It is an aggregation of families, the members of which are linked together by the possession of totems in common and the belief that they are all linked together by descent from a common ancestor or ancestors. Entry into the clan is by birth alone. The clan group is comprised of a man and all his relations in the male line (since the people are *patrilineal*), i.e. his father, father's brothers and father's sisters, his own brothers and sisters and his sons and daughters and all the children of the male members of the clan. The clan is exogamous, that is, a man may not marry within his own clan. This means that the group which at any time *occupies* a clan territory actually consists of the male members of the clan and their children, including their daughters who are not yet married, as well as women who are members of other clans and who have married men of the clan, minus those women of the clan who have married into other clans and gone to live with their husbands. For this functional, *occupational*, group, the name *horde* is used (see below). The clan is the heredity land-owning group, but the war-making group is generally the horde.

Classificatory system of relationship. The kinship system of the Australian aborigines is known as "*classificatory*" because it extends indefinitely the relationships set up by the family by applying the terms which a man uses for his own kin to a large number of people with whom no actual genetic relationship can be traced and whom we should not call relatives at all. Thus a man uses the term which he applies to his own father not only for his father's brothers, but also for all the people whom in the widest sense, his father calls "brother". In this way the family system is extended indefinitely and groups together with own kin, not only all the members of a man's own clan, but also all the people he meets in the normal course of his life. When he knows what term he applies to a man he knows how he should behave to him and also what his obligations are.

Kinship is very important in Australia and is the chief factor underlying social organisation and behaviour both between individuals and between groups. Every individual is born into a kinship pattern which under the classificatory system defines his relationship not only with his own kin but also with all those whom he meets during the ordinary course of his life. Kinship terms, or terms of relationship, are used in place of personal names. They are not mere terms of address, for each carries a set pattern of behaviour. 602

Mălla, in literal translation, any *group*, but used also in a special sense for an aggregation of clans linked together by the possession of common totems or by the sharing of at least a part of a common totemic inheritance. 614 615

Moiety (see dual division).

Patrilineal. Descent in clan and in certain other social groups is traced either in the male or in the female line, i.e. through the father or through the mother. When reckoned through the father it is *patrilineal* and when traced through the mother it is said to be *matrilineal*. 000

Totems and totemism. A totem has been defined as an animal, plant or inanimate object, with which a person, or a group of people, believe that they have a special relationship. This is true, but it does not go far enough. Many different kinds of totemism are known in Australia, including clan, moiety, conceptional, personal, cult and ceremonial totemism. In all, a very special relationship exists between the individual or the group and its totem or totems. Often, in clan totemism, the people believe that they are descended from one of the totemic ancestors of their clan and that these ancestors, called *wäŋarr in* Eastern Arnhem Land, founded the clan and its culture and way of life and established the traditions which the people follow today. 779

Tribe. In Australia the tribe is merely a linguistic unit, a group of people often very loosely united by the possession of a common language, and whose component clans occupy a certain definite territory. It is certainly not the most important unit of social life. It is not the land-owning group, the law-making or war-making group and has no political autonomy. Tribal organisation is conspicuous by its absence from most of Eastern Arnhem Land, although normal tribal organisation occurs at Groote Eylandt, at Bennet Bay and on the southern boundary of the territory, along the Roper River, as well as from the vicinity of Cape Stewart westwards. [197] 619 [184]

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582 616 It will be seen from the above that though eight subsections are recognized, these operate in four pairs, so reducing the organization in this respect to a four-section system. It should be noticed, however, that normally a man marries a woman of the first-named subsection in the above, *i.e.*, a Ngarit man regularly marries a Bilindjan woman, but under certain circumstances may marry a Kalian woman. A Buralang man regularly marries a Bulaindjan woman, but may marry a Ngaritjan woman, and so on.

778 The chief ceremonial object is called *muraian*, and each horde possesses a number. These are, in the vast majority of cases, representations of (*a*) utensils, such as digging sticks (*bartʃu*), dilly-bags (*batti*), clubs (*balata*), *etc.*, supposed to have been used by mythological ancestors; (*b*) natural species associated in legend with these ancestors; (*c*) these mythological ancestors themselves or certain of their physical organs. These *muraian* would, I suppose, be termed ceremonial totems, though it seems an abuse of the term so to apply it. *Muraian* is the common "outside" name for these objects, while the ceremonial or "inside" name is *rayga*. *Muraian* is, on rare occasions, used to indicate anything sacred or tabu, but correctly the term applies only to these particular objects, the general term for sacred being *yarin*. Thus the *muraian* or *rayga* is *yarin*.

796 621 778 The ceremonies associated with these *rayga* are known as *nara*,[3] but while there is found an ill-defined system of local totem centres the *nara* ceremonies are performed at any suitable place, quite frequently in the territory of another horde many miles from the totem centre to which it belongs. Not infrequently both Yiritcha and Dua hordes will unite for a *nara* ceremony, *rayga* of both moieties being used.

778 621 614 It is upon these *rayga* that the only real cohesion between the various hordes is based. Certain hordes of the same moiety, though as widely separated as Elcho Island on the north coast and Blue Mud Bay on the Gulf of Carpentaria, possess the same *rayga*, and these are regarded as belonging to the same *mala*. I leave it to be

[3] It should be noted that the *nara* ceremonies are in no sense increase rites, which are unknown in this region.

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determined whether the term tribe, sub-tribe, or some other should be applied to these *mala*.

The horde is usually referred to by the name of the dialect spoken by the members. The name of the *mala* is much less frequently used.

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Below is a list, as complete as present information allows, of the hordes in this area, and the *mala* into which they are grouped. I have used a letter to indicate the *mala*, and the same letter with an accompanying figure to indicate the hordes included in the *mala*. The letter and figure associated are set down on the accompanying chart to indicate the location of the various hordes.

(A) Kalvanuk *mala* (Dua).
A.1. Liakalauomirr.
A.2. Mundalpi.
A.3. Barrarrngor.

(B) Biringal *mala* (Yiritcha).
B.1. Ritarrngor.
B.2. Malarbarrtcharai.
B.3. Buranadjini.
B.4. Kulungngor.
B.5. Mararrpa.

(C) Ding-ding *mala* (Dua).
C.1. Liakauarmirr.
C.2. Guyula.
C.3. Ngaladarr.
C.4. Mun-nerrngor.
C.5. Djarrwarrk.
C.6. Lulmarango.

(D) Munjakai *mala* (Yiritcha).
D.1. Won-guri.
D.2. Kwiyamil.
D.3. Worlkara.
D.4. Wolamangu.
D.5. Giki.
D.6. Kwiyamil.

(E) Berrkali *mala* (Yiritcha).
E.1. Kopapingo.
E.2. Daiorrorr.
E.3. Kopapingo.
E.4. Mukarrganalmiri.
E.5. Yitua.
E.6. Maratanggimiri.
E.7. Dalwongor.

(F) Jiring *mala* (Dua).
F.1. Djumbarpingo.
F.2. Durili.
F.3. Djarn.
F.4. Barlamomo.
F.5. Darmaramiri.

(G) Murngin *mala* (Yiritcha).
G.1. Warumari.
G.2. Korlpa.
G.3. Pural-pural.
G.4. Kumait.
G.5. Lamumiri.
G.6. Burata.

(H) Kauorr *mala* (Dua).
H.1. Karlpu.
H.2. Woralul.
H.3. Reraitchingu.

(I) Murungun *mala* (Dua).
I.1. Yarrnangu.
I.2. Yarrnangu.
I.3. Yarrnangu.
I.4. Kumalungga.
I.5. Malara.

(J) Wurambirrpirr *mala* (Yiritcha).
J.1. Balmaui.
J.2. Obulkara.
J.3. Kopapingo.

(K) Kukauurrta *mala* (Yiritcha).
K.1. Gunalbingo.

(L) Murangarrpiara *mala* (Dua).
L.1. Djinba.

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It will be observed that two Kopapingo hordes are included in the Berrkali *mala*. These two hordes, though widely separated in location, speak the same dialect, and so are called by the same name. A Kopapingo horde is also found in the Wurambirrpirr *mala*. This horde speaks the Kopapingo dialect, but possesses the *muraian* of the Wurambirrpirr *mala*, and not those of the Barrkali *mala*. My informants were very definite that this horde therefore belonged to the former *mala*.

In the Murungun *mala* the first three hordes, though widely separated, speak the same dialect and so are called by the same name. In the case of the Kukau-urrta and Murangarrpiara it would appear that the horde is co-extensive with the *mala*. Though these *mala* are both small, it may be that in each case there are more than one horde which speak the same dialect and adjoin each other in location.

A number of the hordes have, in addition to the dialect name, a local community name also, *e.g.*, Malau-ulmurrk is the local name of the Lamumiri-speaking horde of the Murngin *mala*. As these local names are rarely if ever used by a man when speaking of his own horde, closer investigation over the whole area may reveal that they are possessed by all the hordes.

Though I have been resident among these people for the past six years I have failed to discover any name which is applied to any combination of hordes of both moieties. Neither have I discovered a name for the language of which the various tongues spoken are dialects. Kopapingo is sometimes used for the various Yiritcha dialects and Jumbarpingo in the same way for the Dua dialects.

As will be gathered, I disagree with Dr. W. Lloyd Warner in his application of the name Murngin generally to the hordes of both moieties (*Oceania*, 1, 251, 331 and 457; also *American Anthropologist*, n.s. XXXII, 207; XXXIII, 172). As I have shown, the Murngin is purely a Yiritcha *mala*. All my informants are most emphatic that no Dua man could possibly belong to the Murngin group. It is but one of several Yiritcha and Dua *mala*, the hordes of which are scattered over the same area. I therefore consider Dr. Warner's use of the name to be unfortunate and misleading.

If a tribe is to be defined as a number of neighbouring hordes which are united by the possession of a homogeneity of language

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and custom, then it appears that all the people of the area indicated belong to the one tribe, which for the time being must remain nameless.[4]

The widely separated locations of the hordes of the same *mala* present a puzzling problem. Probably migration, at least in part, accounts for it. An example of this is found in the Daiorrorr horde of the Berrkali *mala*, which within the lifetime of its present members migrated from the south of Buckingham Bay to its present location on the Goyder River. Possibly some evidence of migration is also found in the legends of the people, including the hordes along the northern coast and the islands adjacent thereto. In these legends a very large proportion of the mythological ancestors whose exploits they relate are represented as having lived and laboured and instituted the customs of the people in the neighbourhood of Caledon and Blue Mud Bays. In some cases these ancestors are represented as starting in at that point and travelling right across the country in a north-westerly direction to the opposite coast. These same legends, with local variations, are apparently found throughout the whole area, and the social organization and the customs of the people are of the one type.

T. THEODOR WEBB

Map of North-East Arnhem Land showing approximate location of aboriginal hordes.

[4]The peoples to the west of the line indicated differ from those referred to in both language and social organization.

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a member of the Yiritcha moiety, marries his mother's brother's daughter, he is marrying a woman of the Balang subsection and Dua moiety, and also of a local clan different from his own, as will be shown later.

This is possibly somewhat confusing to the reader, and to all who do not possess an understanding of aboriginal social organization. But I can vouch for the fact that the system is intelligible and quite logical, and those who tend to regard the Aborigines as a low type, or of poor intelligence, must reconcile that opinion with the fact that the north-east Arnhem Land Aborigines not only understand the system, and make it work in everyday life, but that they adjusted this new grouping to their own kinship and marriage rules and to their dual organization.

I have enlarged on this matter, not only to give some idea of the background of behaviour in the region, but also to suggest that in matters of importance to themselves, the Aborigines are just as intelligent and logical as we are. It is our ignorance of their world of thought which often causes us to regard them as low in the scale of intelligence, when, as a matter of fact, we are not acting very intelligently in judging them without a thorough knowledge of the facts.

The Aborigines and their Country

Here and there Mr Chaseling mentions hordes and sacred wells. This introduces us to the fundamental unit of the social and even 'political' organization. The tribe as an organization of clans or hordes does not really exist in this region. Instead there are a number of local groups, each occupying on the average about 360 square miles of country, loosely bound together by the fact that they possess in common certain features of social organization, for example, the kinship system, marriage rule, eight-subsection system, and the dual organization (or division of the community into two groups for certain ceremonial and social purposes);

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they also possess rituals and myths in common, and in many cases, obvious dialects of one language.

Each of these groups is a patrilineal clan, the members (apart from the wives of the men), being all related in the male line; a social group consists of a man and his brothers and sisters, his children, his son's children, his brother's children and such like. Members of such a clan must never marry one another, but only members of other clans, according to the kinship rules. This rule is called local exogamy. The members of the local clan, together with their wives who have come to live with them (as is the custom), are called a horde.

The most important feature of the local clan is the link which binds its members to one or more sacred totemic waterholes (or wells) in the clan country. The well was formed by the cult totemic hero and ancestor of the clan. In it have sojourned from the great ancestral time the spirits of all those whose earthly course is run, that is, the souls of the dead. Also associated with the well are the clan's totemic emblems and ceremonies. One important function of the latter is the maintenance of the regular order of the dry and wet seasons, and the link with the creative epoch of the totem. Incidentally the souls of the dead may take up their abode, not only in the well, but also in the totemic emblems, and are believed to be present at the great totemic ceremonies. In addition they are called upon to do their part in some rites, especially in connexion with burial. For example, in Chapter 14, Mr Chaseling refers to a deceased child's grandfather chanting a prayer to his own dead brother (that is, the child's 'tribal' grandfather), to come and take the child back to Buralkor, the Island of the Dead. But though a deceased person's spirit goes to this island, it returns to the totemic well in his clan's country. This may seem contradictory to us, but just as space and time were no obstacle to the great ancestresses who came from the island,

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so it is with man's spirit. Moreover, according to native psychology, a man has two souls, and according to some beliefs, it is a man's bush or trickster spirit which goes to the Island of the Dead. But however that be, the more important of these two spirits of the dead does sojourn in the totemic well, and to make sure that the spirit arrives there, signs are made by pointing and singing to the grandfather to come for him. As one informant told Dr Warner, who studied the subject intensively, 'if we didn't sing, he might go bad because evil ghosts might catch him and take him out in the jungle country where they live. It is better that his old grandfather and his ancestors come and get him and take him straight to his clan well where his totem came from.'

Religion

Readers of Mr Chaseling's book will be impressed by the important part played by religion in the life of the Aborigines. Mythology and ritual, totemism and beliefs regarding the spirit of man, the Great Creator Spirit who is revealed in the Rainbow Serpent, and the 'mother goddess', are all part of this religious life. The ritual is the prescribed acting of the great myths by fully initiated men; the mythology provides the sanction and pattern for the rites and for present-day behaviour. The emphasis on the Creator Spirit (associated with the sky) and a kind of 'earth-mother' distinguished Arnhem Land from Central Australian mythology, though interest in the sky-world and a belief that it is the source of life-giving powers (especially through the Rainbow Serpent and the medicine-men), were widespread in Australia. Mr Chaseling's Chapter 17 shows how the natives of his region are fascinated by the sky-world and in their mythology reveal a desire to go to it.

Further details of north-east Arnhem Land myth and ritual are given in W. L. Warner's *A Black Civilization*. He also discusses fully the totemism of the region. A general

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CHAPTER EIGHT

Family Life in the Jungle

A FAMILY is the most important unit in aboriginal society, and the horde is founded on it. Some families have as few as three members; the largest I saw was that in which Wonggu had twenty-six wives and fifty children. A horde consists of a father's family and his sons' families, and if a few generations of sons escape their enemies' spears the horde is a large one. Upon this simple horde-family relationship depends the entire intricate, bewildering, and far-reaching aboriginal social organization.

Polygamy is an ancient custom and has an economic basis, for women are the chief food-gatherers and are coveted as assets and never regarded as expensive luxuries. A man cannot foresee the number of wives he is to have, but he hopes for several, and as his influence increases there is a tendency to bestow women on him. Bestowal of women is so arranged that old men obtain young wives and young men generally receive old widows, and incongruous as the arrangement may seem to us it ensures that old men have active women to hunt for them and their elderly wives, and that the young men, well able to look after themselves, make do with elderly widows. Prestige lies with the old men, and they enforce the practice despite constant objections from both the young men and the young women. As youths grow older their authority increases and they in turn bargain for young women.

Women live a much harder life than men, and are neglected and unwanted as they grow old before their time;

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779 Totems in sacred ceremonies are known as 'maraian', and generally denote some utensil used by the Ancestors. Maraian may also be birds, animals, or fish intimately linked with the Ancestors. Parts of the nomad's anatomy, representing that of an Ancestor, and usually their reproductive organs, feature in song and dance. Such caricatures are accepted by the nomads, but I have seen consternation and embarrassment amongst mixed parties of white visitors attending these ceremonies.

779 796 614 621 778 Totemic beliefs link widely separated hordes, who meet for ceremonies connected with the creation myth, for bone-burying and for initiations. Several clans may be co-guardians of the same sacred site, such as the Reratjingo of Port Bradshaw and the Lia-gullomirry from the Woolen River, who are separated by about a hundred and fifty miles, yet both belong to the Dua moiety and have close connexions with a sacred well on the Woolen River where a great mythical snake in Creation days distinguished himself by swallowing two of the Ancestresses. Guardianship of this site has been mainly in the hands of the Woolen River horde, but at rare intervals Reratjingo men from Port Bradshaw make their way to the well and take part in the ceremonies. A sacred maraian, consisting of a painted hollow log, represents the snake, and is the centre of the rite, and at certain stages in the proceedings the leader blows through it to produce dull, booming reverberations which are said to be the voice of the snake. An old man of the visiting Reratjingo returned to Port Bradshaw, painted a [178] similar maraian, and introduced the ceremony to his horde; now his sons, grandsons, and nephews carry out the ritual of this totem.

778 531 Some designs and myths, painted on maraian in coloured clays, or bound with string and parrot feathers, involve weeks of careful preparation. A shower of rain will efface the paint, moths may consume the string; the horde leader

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must memorize the design. Blank spaces on maraian are due to the artist's loss of memory, and they freely admit that they have forgotten some parts of the design.

As well as having a link with the distant Woolen River, the Reratjingo had its own totem centre near Port Bradshaw, and were co-guardians with the Kalpu. But this did not guarantee unity, for the question of guardianship led to quarrels in which several were killed and the Reratjingo withdrawing to Melville Bay forty miles away. But the Kalpu victory was short lived, for in driving off the Reratjingo they so weakened the home-front, that their hereditary enemies, the Juppu of Blue Mud Bay, descended on them with such vindictiveness that the remnant fled to the English Company's Islands eighty miles away, and they have been on the defensive ever since.

Prolonged friendships between hordes does not prevent the sudden cessation of diplomatic relations, and an occasional killing. The Gerrkee from Cape Shield had fraternized, hunted, and camped for years with the Juppa. Though they were of opposite moieties, they exchanged secret law, held totemic dances, and seemed inseparable. Yet one night when I was visiting their camp I saw that they were at loggerheads, and soon afterwards they brandished their spears, attacked each other, yelling threats and obscenities. It all started at the end of a successful day's hunting, when everyone had more than enough to eat and a Juppa woman hit her Gerrkee husband with a digging-stick after a trivial disagreement. He retaliated by knocking her down and bumping her head on the ground. Her father heard her screams, and remonstrated with his son-in-law, who then called on his brothers for assistance. In a flash, both clans were in a fracas. Women used their digging-sticks, or lengths of wood from the camp-fires, and darted in amongst the men to deal their blows. Men slashed with yard-long flat spear-throwers. After an hour of bedlam,